













**THE MADURA COUNTRY**  
**A MANUAL – IN FIVE PARTS**  
**PART-3**

**THE POLITICAL HISTORY**  
**OF THE**  
**MADURA COUNTRY**  
**ANCIENT AND MODERN**

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## PART III.

### THE POLITICAL HISTORY OF THE MADURA COUNTRY, ANCIENT AND MODERN.

#### CHAPTER I.

*Introduction.—Authorities made use of.—The “Mad’hurâ St’hala Purâna” abstracted.*

THE materials for writing a political history of Madura to be found in the Madura Record Office are very, very scanty. The earliest English records extant go back only as far as the year 1790: and from that date to the present few political events of any magnitude have occurred within the limits of the District. There have been, indeed, some petty rebellions headed by the hereditary holders of various small tracts of country. And soon after the District was finally ceded to the British, the rude and turbulent Kallan tribes (called by Orme and others “Colleries”) gave the Government some trouble for a while. But with the exception of these events, there has been but little of late for the annalist to record.

In old times, however, things were very different. Madura, or as it is properly spelt Mad’hurâ, was once the metropolis of a large and rather powerful kingdom; she was once the seat of learning of many kinds; and she has been from the earliest times a favourite resort of the pious Hindû. Some of her kings were brave, active, and powerful: and many of them were at all events sufficiently wise to expend enormous sums of money in promoting the material prosperity and happiness of their subjects. Mad’hurâ was often, therefore, a tempting prize in the eyes of greedy neighbours: and foreign generals swooped down upon her, one after another, in the hope of acquiring an immense booty by their courage and address; whilst hordes of emigrants from countries ravaged by Mussulman invaders and others marched across, and settled within her boundaries. Nor was this



all. Rival claimants to the throne, or to the administration of the country fought out their battles, from time to time, round the walls of the capital: or occupied in force the hill fortresses and mountain passes; whilst their secret adherents constantly plotted and intrigued within the palace.

There was therefore plenty of life in Mad'hurâ, and plenty of work for the industrious historian, which has not been altogether neglected. The "St'hala Purâna of Mad'hurâ," the "Sritâla book," the "History of the Karnataka Governors," the "Mrityunjaya manuscripts," and an abundance of Samskrit and Vernacular histories memoirs and chronicles are still in existence, from which an accurate and patient scholar possessed of the requisite local knowledge might probably be able to extract a large amount of information respecting the Tamil and other races, over whom the rulers and kings of Mad'hurâ have held sway. Rough translations of some of these writings were published by the Missionary William Taylor in Madras in 1835, under the title of "Oriental Historical Manuscripts, in the Tamil language translated, with annotations:" and in this work much useful matter may be found. Then the "Catalogue Raisonné of Oriental MSS." prepared by the same author, contains a very rich mine of the most valuable materials, of the usefulness of which it is perhaps impossible to speak too highly. Besides these sources of information, existing inscriptions on copper plates and on pagodas and other buildings are sufficiently numerous to reward careful investigation with the discovery of a large aggregate of facts: and the history of the 17th and 18th centuries has been most copiously illustrated by the passing remarks on political events and the general state, of the country, embodied in the annual reports of the Jesuit Missionaries who worked in Mad'hurâ, Trichinopoly and other southern capitals. In fact there are accessible materials for a sufficiently complete history of Mad'hurâ in modern times.

The very little that is known of the earliest history of Mad'hurâ is to be found in its St'hala Purâna, or ancient history of its holy place. This work is universally believed by those natives of Mad'hurâ who profess the Saiva religion to have been written three or four thousand years ago: but what ground, if any, there is for this belief, I have not been able to ascertain. It seems highly probable on the other hand, that it was composed in not very early times: and the statement of the great Professor Wilson, to the effect that it cannot claim



a higher antiquity than that of 8 or 900 years, can probably be accepted without hesitation. But the copies of the original Samskrit work now in existence are said to vary one from another very considerably: and it is just possible, that the copy examined by Wilson (if indeed he ever examined one) may have contained interpolations and errors, which led him to assign an incorrect date to the Purâna. And as for what profess to be Tamil translations versions and imitations of the Samskrit, they vary so considerably from the Samskrit Purâna and from one another, that they must be used, if at all, with the very greatest caution. Only the latest and worst of them are said to be now in existence: and there can be little doubt, but that even the most correct modern copies of these contain much matter that was not to be found in the quasi-original works.

An abstract of the Purâna will presently be given, which with the assistance of a Pundit has been carefully compared with a Samskrit manuscript said to be the best procurable, and it is hoped that it is in the main correct. But readers who are familiar with Mr. Taylor's abstract of a Tamil work given in his O. H. MSS. will observe the very considerable variances in the facts set forth in that and in this respectively; and the danger of hastily adopting presumptions *primâ facie* deducible from either will be at once apparent to them.

Scientifically handled, and attentively read together with the St'hala Purânas of Srîrang'ha, Kâncipura, and other holy places, the Mad'hurâ St'hala Purâna will doubtless furnish the Orientalist with much valuable knowledge. It contains a considerable amount of information touching the primitive doctrines of the Saiva faith, and the customs of the inhabitants of the Pândya country. And it unquestionably contains a few strictly historical facts. On the other hand, a mere superficial perusal of an incorrect copy or bad imitation of the work is calculated to lead the reader into the most grievous errors, and to impede in a measure the advance of Oriental learning. I will now give my

#### ABSTRACT OF THE MAD'HURÂ ST'HALA PURÂNA.

The authorship of the work is ascribed in the preface to the Rishi Vyâsa, who is declared to have learnt the facts therein set forth from Agastya. He (the latter) and other Rishis were worshipping the



linga one day at Kâsi, when he was asked by the company to tell them which was the holiest book in the universe, which the holiest spot, which the holiest water. He informed them that the Skanda Purâna was the holiest of all books, for it told the praises of Sundara linga, that is of Siva; the Kadamba tree forest (on the site of which Mad'hurâ is said to have been built) was the holiest of all spots, both naturally and because it contained the most holy linga and the most holy water; the holiest water was the *Swarna-push-karini* or "pool of the golden lilies" in the abovesaid forest. And he added that the Kadamba forest was the place in which the god Siva had performed sixty-four miracles: which he would then and there describe in order.

1ST STORY.—The first miracle took place in the Krita Yuga and under the following circumstances. Indra was so much interested one day in a celestial nâch, that he neglected to pay proper respect to Brahaspati, the Guru or spiritual adviser of the gods: and the latter withdrew from his presence in great anger, and threw up his appointment. In consequence of this, and after consultation with Brahma, Indra appointed a three-headed giant named Visvarûpa to act as Guru during the absence of Brahaspati or until further orders: and set to work to find the missing priest. Soon after this the new Guru performed the Yajna sacrifice; and as there was undying enmity between the gods and the giants, he took it upon himself, being a giant, to curse the former and bless the latter. This irregularity greatly enraged Indra, and he forthwith cut off the Guru's three heads with his Vajrâyutha, or peculiar weapon: when to his astonishment the three heads instantly became birds and flew away. Now the giant was of the Brâhman caste, and the sin of killing a Brâhman began to weigh heavily upon Indra's mind. It was however removed after a time by the assistance of the gods, and having been divided into four parts was injected into trees, women, waters, and earth, upon which its portions became respectively gum, menstrual evacuations, froth, and fuller's earth. Relieved from this incubus Indra hoped to regain his peace of mind: but he was disappointed. Twashta, the father of the slain giant performed a Yajna sacrifice, and by means of it produced in place of his son a still more formidable giant named Vrittra, who at once attacked and defeated Indra. The latter fled, and applied to Brahma for assistance: who referred him to Vishnu. This god advised him to throw away his



Vajrâyud'ha, which had become less and less effective day by day since the displeasure of Brahaspati had been incurred, and to make a new one out of the back-bone of the Rishi Dad'hyang. Indra accordingly sought out the Rishi, and informed him of his circumstances and need: and the Rishi forthwith voluntarily gave up the ghost, and Indra was enabled to make the terrible weapon which he required. Armed with this he boldly attacked the giant: but the latter fled in dismay, and hid himself in a deep sea. Indra in vain tried to find his adversary, and by the advice of Brahma went to the Rishi Agastya and asked his aid. The Rishi was willing to assist him, and with scarcely an effort drank up the seven seas which surround the earth, and brought the giant into sight; upon which Indra killed him with his new Vajrâyutha. Unfortunately this giant too was a Brâhman, and Indra was tormented by the stings of conscience to so great a degree, that he retired from the world; and took refuge within the stalk of a lily growing in a tank.

Indra having retired, there was no king to rule his heaven; and the gods were compelled to elect in his place a mortal, named Nahusha, who had performed a hundred *Ashwa-médha* sacrifices and thereby qualified himself to reign in Indra's heaven. After his coronation, Nahusha announced his intention of taking Indra's place as husband, as well as king: and Indrâni the Queen was filled with alarm. However, there was no help for it, and she was compelled to agree to receive his embraces, provided he came to her in a palanquin borne by the seven great Rishis. Nahusha consented to the arrangement, and, the Rishis being willing to carry him, entered the state palanquin, and directed them to take him to Indrâni's abode. On the way he became so impatient of the delay to which he was submitting, that he impertinently cried out to the Rishis, sarpa! sarpa! which means both "Get on! get on!" and "a serpent." The Rishis were very much disgusted at being ordered about in this way by a mere mortal, and pronounced a charm which forthwith turned him into a serpent: and so his brief reign ended, and Indrâni's chastity was preserved. After this, Indrâni accompanied by the gods and by Brahaspati, who had now returned to his duty, went to look for Indra. Having found him, Brahaspati graciously forgave him: and pointed out to him how he might become purged of all the guilt that he had incurred, namely by visiting all the holy places in the world. Indra then set out with Brahaspati, ostensibly on a hunting expedi-



tion, and visited many places : but all to no purpose, as the guilt was by no means removed. At last they came to the Kadaraba forest, and immediately all was well with the sinner, and he felt that his sin was removed. In the joy of his heart he looked about for the cause of his happy deliverance : and after diligent search found a linga near a tank. He at once sent for the celestial artificer Visvakarma, and instructed him to make a splendid shrine for the linga : and in a very short space of time the precious emblem was surrounded with a golden structure, gorgeous with precious stones, and containing eight figures of elephants, thirty-two of lions, and sixty-four of celestial messengers. And near to it was erected a shrine containing a figure which represented Ishwari the wife of Siva. All that was wanting was flowers wherewith to adorn the linga, and these were furnished by the tank, on the surface of which there suddenly appeared beautiful golden lilies. Indra then worshipped the linga, and Ishwari's image with unparalleled fervour, and named the former Sundara linga. Siva was greatly pleased with this adoration ; and having appeared to Indra's delighted eyes promised to grant him whatever he might ask. Indra replied, that all he wanted was the inestimable privilege of worshipping the blessed linga every day : but Siva declared that there was no need for Indra to take so much trouble to the neglect of his kingdom ; he might descend from his heaven and worship the linga once a year, in the month of Chittra, on the day of the full moon, and should derive as much benefit from so doing, as if he descended and worshipped every day. He then disappeared : and Indra and Brahaspati returned to their capital.

2D STORY.—The second story is to the effect that Indra's white elephant, Ayrâvata, was cursed by the Rishi Durvâsa and made to wander wild in the jungles, for having maliciously destroyed some flowers presented to Indra by that Rishi. The elephant was freed from its guilt at last by wandering accidentally into the sacred Kadamba forest : and gratefully set up an image in honor of the god Siva's son, and called it Ayrâvata Vinâyaka, and also dug a sacred tank, at a place west of the forest. And at another place east of the same it set up a linga, and named it Ayrâvata linga. The name given to this place was Ayrâvata town.

3RD STORY.—The third story runs as follows. When a king called Kula Shêk'hara Pândya was ruling at a place called Kalyâna-



pura, situated east of the Kadamba forest, a merchant called D'hananjaya was once benighted in that forest, and discovered the holy linga and the shrine which protected it. He immediately reported the discovery to the king, who also dreamed that a Rishi came and desired him to build a Pagoda and a city in that place. The king forthwith cleared the forest, and within the space of ten days built round the shrine towers, walls, temples, and a goodly city: and he sent for Brâhmans from Kâsi to worship the linga in the proper manner. Having completed his pious work, he was doubting how to name the new town, when the god Siva appeared and as a mark of especial favor sprinkled the new buildings with drops of nectar shaken out of his locks. From this circumstance the town derived its present name Mad'hurâ, which means sweetness. Feeling his end to be approaching the king appointed his son Malaya D'hwaja his successor, and had him crowned. He then died.

4TH STORY.—In the fourth story we are told of the incarnation of Siva's wife: Malaya D'hwaja had married the daughter of Shûra Sêna, the Râja of the Chôla country: but failed during 10,000 years to get a son. He filled his seraglio with thousands of wives and concubines: but all to no purpose. In despair he performed the *putra-kâméshti* sacrifice, by which pious men procure children: and his desire was speedily accomplished. For Ishwari or Mînâkshi, Siva's wife, rose up out of the sacrifice in the form of a child. The queen was delighted with the infant, and nurtured it with the greatest tenderness: but both she and her husband were greatly concerned to see that it had a third breast situated midway between two proper breasts. However, their anxiety on this score was removed by a fairy who appeared and told them, that the unsightly excrescence would leave the child so soon as she saw her future husband: and at the same time advised the Pândya to call the child Thatâthakei, and crown and make her his successor. This he did: and died after having the child taught all the known sciences.

5TH STORY.—The fifth story consists of a description of Thatâthakei's marriage. She assembled a large army of horse and foot soldiers, war-chariots and elephants, and having put herself at its head attacked and defeated all the kings of the earth, then the gods of the eight quarters, and lastly Indra himself. She then invaded the heaven called Kailâsa and defeated Siva's troops, and at last Siva had to come forth himself to fight against her. The instant she



caught sight of him, her third breast disappeared; and she hung down her head in shame knowing that she was in the presence of her future husband. On learning this Siva promised to marry her on an approaching Monday. Thatâthakei then returned to Mad'hurâ, and her prime minister Sumathi made great preparations for the wedding. The kings of the fifty-six countries which composed the world were all invited to attend; the city was magnificently decorated; and the hall of marriage was made resplendent with jewels. On the appointed day Siva came in the form of a man, mounted on his celestial bull, attended by Vishnu and Brahma, and escorted by his servants, and by Indra and all the gods. As the procession approached Mad'hurâ, it was met by the bride's mother, who washed Siva's feet and put garlands round them: and bade him accept her daughter and the throne. Siva smiled graciously in token of acceptance: and entered the marriage hall. Then the wives of Vishnu and Brahma, Lakshmi and Saraswati, decked the bride with the rarest jewels, until her face shone like the concentrated rays of a thousand suns: and placed her at the right hand of Siva. All being ready, Brahma performed the service, and Vishnu laid the bride's hand upon that of the bridegroom, and pouring water upon it declared the queen to be Siva's property. Meanwhile musical instruments of all sorts gave forth the most delightful melody: Rishis and Brâhmans chanted sacred verses: and all kinds of pleasing ceremonies were observed. The marriage having been duly performed, Siva was crowned king of Mad'hurâ, and assumed the name of Sundara Pândya.

6TH STORY.—After the wedding all the company sat down to a grand repast. But two Rishis named Patanjali and Vyâg'hrapattra could not do so, as it was their invariable custom to witness every day the sacred dancing of the god Siva at Chidambara before they ate their rice: and they excused themselves on this ground to the king. Upon this he graciously vouchsafed to them a vision of the sacred dancing in the Silver Hall in the Mad'hurâ pagoda: and there danced before them on his right leg only, keeping his left stretched straight up above his head. Delighted with Siva's kindness and condescension, the Rishis asked that this dancing might be daily witnessed in the Silver Hall; and their boon was granted. After this they sat down with the other guests, and having fared sumptuously retired to their own country.



**7TH STORY.**—When the guests had all taken leave the bride pointed in a boastful way to the enormous quantities of food, which remained unconsumed, although so much had been eaten. Thousands of heaps of cooked rice, vegetables, and other things were lying about in every direction: and she seemed to think it would be impossible to dispose of them all. But the bridegroom quickly showed what his power was. He made the all-consuming fire, called *Badabâ muk'hâgni*, to enter into the belly of his attendant dwarf *Kundôdara*; and the latter being seized with an unabateable hunger in a very short time ate up the whole of the rice, vegetables, and other food, and asked for more. And so violent grew his ravenings, that at last Siva was compelled to summon *Annapûrnâshwari*, the goddess of plenty, to supply the poor wretch with abundance of rice and buttermilk. And she stayed his hunger.

**8TH STORY.**—But the hunger was succeeded by a thirst of so great intensity, that nothing could assuage it. All the wells and tanks in the country were drunk up in succession: and still the dwarf cried more, more! Upon this Siva was again moved to compassion, and began to imagine that *Gangâ*, the goddess of water, ought to do something for the unhappy dwarf. And as he was so imagining, the goddess appeared from out of his lock of hair, and agreed to satisfy his servant's thirst, if Siva would promise to make her more holy than the river Ganges, and at the same time would grant her a boon to the effect that the bones of all corpses thrown into a river, which she proposed to cause to flow past on the instant, should become lingas; and also, that all who bathed in it should be forgiven whatever sins they might have committed in former lives. Siva granted the required boon: and *Gangâ* caused the river *Kritamâlâ* to flow north of *Mad'hurâ*, entering into which the dwarf soon quenched his thirst. To drink the more copiously, he sat midway between the banks and stretched out his arms on either side so as to form a dyke.

**9TH STORY.**—Some time after this the bride's putative mother *Kâchanamâlâ* had a conversation with the sage *Durvâsa*: and having learnt from him that the sea is especially holy, inasmuch as all the holy rivers run into it, became seized with the desire of bathing in its waters, and so purifying herself from the pollution of sin. Siva heard of this, and to save her the trouble of a long journey caused the springs of all the seven seas to be fixed in the neigh-



bourhood of the Mad'hurâ Pagoda. And they are to be seen there to this day. The old lady was about to bathe in the springs of the seven seas, and the Brâhmans were chaunting sacred verses appropriate to the occasion, when it was discovered that a widow who had not a male child could not purify herself in the proposed manner unless she descended into the water holding the tail of a calf. She was much troubled at this, and was hesitating as to whether she should bathe or no, when Siva removed her difficulty.

10TH STORY.—He caused her deceased husband to leave Paradise and appear before her. Taking hold of his finger she went down into the water; and having washed away her sins, died, and went with him on his return to the abode of the blessed.

11TH STORY.—After this Thatâthakei was brought to bed on a fortunate Monday, when the star Âdrâ was in the ascendant. The child was a male; and his body-marks having been carefully noted, it was found that he would bring great joy to all his people and great grief to his enemies: and reign long and prosperously. He was named Ugra Pândya, and as soon as he began to grow intelligent was instructed in all the sciences.

12TH STORY.—In this is described the marriage of Ugra Pândya. His father imagined the propriety of his marrying Kantimathi, the daughter of Sôma Shêk'hara, the Chôla king of Kâncipura, and a descendant of the race of the Sun; who also had a dream to the same effect: and the result was, the Chôla king brought his daughter to Mad'hurâ, and the marriage was celebrated. Immediately afterwards Sundara Pândya caused his son to be crowned king, and gave him three precious gifts, weapons by means of which he was to conquer 1, Indra; 2, the God of the Sea; and 3, Mount Mêru, and named Valaya, Shakti, and Chenda respectively. After this donation he retired from the world, and located himself in his linga in the Mad'hurâ Pagoda, and the queen his wife located herself in the image called Mînakshi in the same place.

The next three stories show the victories gained by means of the three miraculous weapons. First the god of the seas was defeated, then Indra, and lastly the god who dwells in Mount Mêru.

13TH STORY.—Ugra Pândya performed ninety-six *As'hvaméd'ha* sacrifices; and as four more would entitle him to rule in Indra's heaven, that deity became alarmed, and ordered Varuna to destroy



Mad'hurâ. Varuna accordingly directed the god of the Seas to advance against the city, and overthrow it: and soon afterwards the waters of the sea flowed up to the very walls of the Pagoda, and threatened to sweep it away. Then by the advice of Siva given in a dream, the Pândya hurled his Shakti at them and they were all dried up in a moment, and the city was saved.

14TH STORY.—After this, in consequence of the planets moving irregularly in the heavens no rain fell for a long time in the Pândya, Chôla, and Chêra countries. The kings of these countries therefore met and took counsel together, and went all three to the sage Agastya, who was living on Mount Malaya, to ask him the cause of the calamity which had befallen them. He explained to them that Mars followed by the sun and by Venus had been moving irregularly, and that there would in consequence be a drought of twelve years' duration. But Indra could help them: and if they went to Mad'hurâ, and there observed the *Sômarâra* fast, they might obtain access to his heaven. This fast was a most powerful means of grace and strength: and when kept by the great gods enabled them to work miracles. The procedure adopted in keeping it was the following. The faster should begin to fast on a Monday, a full-moon Monday if possible, in the month Kârtiga, having taken but one full meal on the Sunday preceding. He should purify himself in the golden-lily tank, and anoint and worship the linga. If he required food after this, he might break his fast at noon. But some did not eat until the stars appeared; others fasted till the following morning; others again watched till then besides fasting; and some passed the night praying as well as fasting. The three kings followed the Rishi's instructions: and having kept the fast succeeded in reaching heaven, where they were kindly received by Indra. Three seats were set for them below Indra's throne, and the Chôla and Chêra kings sat in two of them: but the Pândya haughtily declined to take the third, and seated himself beside Indra on Indra's throne. Indra was greatly annoyed at this, and turning his back on him addressed the other two, and promised to send them rain. Before dismissing them he placed on the Pândya's breast a *hâra* or breast-plate of great weight, intending to crush him therewith; but the Pândya bore it as if it were a chaplet of flowers, and was therefore named Hâra-dhâri Pândya or "he who bore the *hâra*." He then abused Indra for his treachery, and stalked away. After this, the Chôla and Chêra kings countries had



abundance of rain, but the Pândyas none : so seeing the four clouds grazing one day, as he was returning from hunting, the Pândya seized them and confined them in his capital. Enraged at this, Indra came down from heaven on his white elephant and attacked him. But the latter smote the god's crown into fragments with his magical Valaya, and forced him to flee in dismay. Indra then wrote a letter promising to send rain on condition that the captive clouds should be set at liberty. But the Pândya declined to do this. At last a man called Êkavîra, the proprietor of one of seven villages, offered to stand security for the clouds : and his offer having been accepted, the captives were released. After that there was sufficient rain in Mad'hurâ, and the country became most fertile.

15TH STORY.—Previous to this victory over Indra; the Pândya had relieved his subjects to some extent from the terrible effects of the drought. In consequence of a dream he went to mount Mêru, and compelled the spirit who lived therein to discover an immense quantity of gold buried in its rocks. This was distributed amongst the people, and enabled them to buy food. When first summoned, the spirit refused to appear : but the Pandya struck the mountain a terrific blow with the Chenda, and the spirit came forth awed and submissive, and did what was required of him.

The Pândya thus obtained the three victories : and died at last after crowning his son Vîra.

16TH STORY.—During his reign Kanwa and other Rishis who abode in the Neimisha forest were much distressed at not being able to understand correctly the Vêdas. After seeking advice from the sage Harab'hakta, they came to Mad'hurâ, and after having purified themselves in the sacred tank, and performed certain rigorous penances, worshipped Siva with great fervour. He thereupon appeared to them in the form of a young Brâhman ; and taking them into the presence of the linga declared to them that the holy emblem represented the Omnipotent, and that it was from Siva's five heads that the *Âgama* and the *Vêdas* originally proceeded. The young Brâhman then touched the Rishis on their backs, blessed them with a spirit of interpretation ; and suddenly vanished, to their great surprise.

17TH STORY.—Vîra Pândya had a great many sons by concubines, out not one by his wife. However after much fasting and praying he got a legitimate successor to the throne, and five years afterwards



was killed in a jungle by a tiger. As soon as the news of his death reached Mad'hurâ, several of his natural sons combined together and stole and ran off with the crown and royal jewels. Consequently when the time came for the coronation of the new king, the ministers were in great perplexity as to how the ceremony could be performed. At this juncture Siva appeared in the form of a young jeweller, and after giving a lecture on the nature, lustre, and properties of various precious stones, presented a number to the ministers, and bade them make a new crown with them. He then named the prince Ab'hishêka Pândya, and vanished. The crown was made according to Siva's instructions; and Ab'hishêka was crowned, and began to reign.

18TH STORY.—As he was worshipping the linga one day, it happened that Indra came down from heaven to worship it: and being compelled to wait till the Pândya had finished, the god grew excessively angry. And on his return to his heaven he commissioned Varuna to destroy Mad'hurâ. That deity attempted to carry out the order by the means adopted on a previous occasion (see page 11): but Siva interfered, and caused to issue from his locks four clouds, which descended to Mad'hurâ, and drank up in an instant the seas that threatened to overwhelm it.

19TH STORY.—Furious at being thus thwarted, Varuna sent clouds to discharge fearful showers of rain and hail upon Mad'hurâ: but Siva again interposed in his mercy, and the four clouds that drank up the seas were directed to form themselves into a shield over the city, and ward off the attacks of the hostile clouds. This was done: and Mad'hurâ was again preserved. Varuna then perceived that his enmity was of no avail, and coming to the sacred tank purified himself in it and prayed for forgiveness. This was granted to him; his guilt was purged; and a dropsy which greatly troubled him was cured.

20TH STORY.—After this Siva amused himself with appearing as a prophet, and performing a series of meaningless miracles in the Mad'hurâ country. Old men were changed into young; men into women; blockheads into scholars; trees of one kind into trees of another; and so forth.

21ST STORY.—The Pândya sent messengers to bring the prophet before him, but they were all struck with astonishment at beholding



the miracles and were unable to do their duty. The king then sent his ministers: but they too failed in their errand, and were contemptuously told that "a prophet had no concern with kings."

Thereupon the king himself went out to look for the illustrious stranger. He came to the Pagoda on the 1st of the month of Pushya, and meeting the pretended prophet asked him his name. The god said "Agniyâ sidd'ha," (?) which means the omnipotent spirit, and the king then asked him sarcastically, if he could make a stone elephant which stood hard by eat sugar-cane, and stretched out a piece of cane towards the lifeless figure. To his amazement the stone elephant lifted its trunk, and advancing towards him with fierce gestures tore from off his neck a necklace of pearls and swallowed it together with the sugar-cane. Seeing this, the king's attendants made a rush at the prophet, with the object of chastising him for his violence: but he looked at them in a peculiar manner, and they immediately became powerless to move. The king then perceived that the god was amusing himself at his expense, threw himself at Siva's feet, and implored forgiveness. This was granted: and a few days afterwards the king crowned his son Vikrama as his successor, and died.

22ND STORY.—Whilst Vikrama was reigning, the Saiva religion flourished in Mad'hurâ. But the Chôla king of Kânchipura was converted to the religion of the Shapana heretics: and in revenge for former defeats he now collected and led against the Pândya a force of 8,000 chiefs of the Shapana sect. These heretics endeavoured to destroy Mad'hurâ by magic. Having dug a huge pit ten miles in length, they performed in it a Yajna sacrifice, out of which there rose a monstrous elephant. Agreeably to the order of the Chôla king, the huge beast moved slowly in the direction of Mad'hurâ, shaking the earth with every step, and apparently half mad with rage: and the attacking army marched on in its rear. The Pândya applied in this emergency to the linga, and the god heard his prayer. He promised to remove the danger, and bade the king build a sixteen-pillared hall on the east of the city, and put away all fear. Accordingly the hall was rapidly constructed; and on going to see it the Pândya observed the god standing in it, disguised as a hero armed with a bow. Sundara linga then recited the prayer called *Narasim'ha Japa* in order to secure the co-operation of the god of that name, and as the elephant approached, shot it dead with an



arrow. The carcass of the animal was forthwith turned into a rock which may be seen to this day.

23RD STORY.—The twenty-third amusement of the god consisted in rewarding the faith of a Saiva Brâhman girl named Gaûri. She had been married by her father, when eight years old, to a Vaishnava Brâhman against the wish of her mother, herself, and her relatives generally; and was being sadly neglected and ill-used in her new home, when Siva took pity on her forlorn condition and resolved to rescue her therefrom. The family went one day to a Vaishnava feast leaving poor Gaûri by herself, and all the rooms of the house locked up, and the god then visited her in the form of a decrepid old Saiva Brâhman, and begged alms of her. She treated him with great kindness and hospitality; and expressed her regret that the rooms in which food was kept were all locked up. But the old man bade her put her hand on the locks, and as soon as she did so they opened. She then procured and dressed food: and, as the old man's hand trembled exceedingly, fed him carefully with her own fingers. As soon as he had finished his meal, the stranger turned himself into a handsome young gallant; and, as he did so, the girl heard to her horror the sound of her husband's friends approaching the house. Upon this, the god has suddenly changed himself into a baby of three months, with ashes rubbed on its forehead; and began to cry out lustily.

Gaûri's husband was very angry indeed when he saw the baby; and still more so, when he discovered that the locks of the room doors had been opened in his absence. And without more ado he pushed Gaûri into the road, and bade her take herself and the baby off. In an agony of shame and grief the girl prayed to Siva to help her: and her prayer was scarcely ended, when, to the astonishment of the bystanders, the baby disappeared from her arms; and Sundara linga and Mînâkshi presently appeared in their celestial vehicle, and translated her to the realms of bliss. After this Vikrama had his son Râja Shêk'hara crowned king in his stead: and then died.

24TH STORY.—The new king was a very just man, and well skilled in the arts and sciences. Of the former he knew no less than sixty-three: and he was very proud of his knowledge. But one day a poet came before him, and, after praising him for his accomplishments, informed him that the Chôla king knew all the sixty-four arts. Annoyed at this, the Pândya set to work and thoroughly learnt the



art of dancing, the one art which the Chôla knew, and he himself did not know. And in the course of attaining perfection in this new kind of knowledge, he came to understand from painful experience the trouble and exertion which Sundara linga must have undergone when he danced to please the Rishis (see ante page ), and had been undergoing from that day to then, in balancing himself always on his right leg with the left stretched up over his head. Thinking of this, he felt sorry for the god: and determined to procure him some slight relief. Accordingly during the feast of Siva he entered the Silver Hall (see page 8) after worshipping the linga, and besought the god to change legs and stretch up the right in place of the left: adding at the same time that unless the god complied with his request, he would then and there end his life by falling on his sword, which he rested with the point towards him on the ground. The god was pleased with his piety: and acted, as requested.

25TH STORY.—Râja Shêk'hara died at a great age; and was succeeded by his son Kulôttunga. This king married 10,000 wives, each of whom bore him six sons. Whilst he was enjoying his prosperous reign, the following amusement took place. A Brâhman of Navapura was travelling with his wife and child towards Mad'hurâ: and, as they were all fainting with the mid-day heat, he went to find water whilst his wife rested under a shady tree. In his absence an arrow, that had accidentally lodged in that tree, fell down; and entering the woman's breast killed her on the spot. The Brâhman came back soon afterwards, and seeing the arrow accused a hunter, who happened to be standing near with a bow and arrows in his hands, of having murdered his wife: and disbelieving his assertions of innocence took him and the corpse before the king of Mad'hurâ. The king examined the parties, and put the hunter to the torture; but all to no purpose. At last he ordered the prisoner to be kept in custody, and the corpse to be burnt: and then went into the Pagoda and prayed to the god to throw light upon the matter. In answer, a voice in the air directed him to attend that night at the wedding of a certain merchant, and observe what happened. Accordingly the king went to the wedding, taking with him the Brâhman who had lost his wife, and after a while was permitted to over-hear two messengers of death deliberating upon the best means of killing the intending bridegroom. One of them



remarked, that the man was sound and healthy: but the other removed the difficulty on that score by declaring, that an apparently fortuitous circumstance would easily bring about what was wanted, and then reminded his companion of the way in which they had the day before disposed of the Brâhman's wife. The king told the Brâhman what he had heard: and then waited in anxious expectation for what was to follow. Immediately afterwards a cow broke loose, frightened by the music, and gored the bridegroom to death. The king thus came to understand the hunter's innocence, and dismissed the case, after giving both the Brâhman and the prisoner handsome presents.

26TH STORY.—In the same reign a young Brâhman of Avantîpuri obtained forgiveness of two most enormous sins through the grace of Siva. He had committed incest with his mother, a young and handsome woman; and having been discovered, had murdered his aged father. He fled in the night, taking with him his mother and everything valuable on which he could lay his hands, and hoped to live a pleasant life in an adjoining country. But Providence, which never suffers the guilty to escape, soon commenced to punish him. He had barely left his father's house, when robbers seized and plundered him, and carried off his paramour. And then the stings of conscience tortured him beyond endurance, and he wandered about the country like a madman. Whilst he was in this miserable plight Siva took pity on him, and resolved to point out to him a mode of escaping from his sins. As the young man was wandering along in the direction of Mad'hurâ, he found two persons, appearing to be a hunter and his wife, playing with dice: and he was encouraged by their kindness to tell them his story. Sundara linga and Mînâkshi, for it was they, thereupon advised him to go to the Mad'hurâ pagoda, and there perform the following penances:—

1. He must roll his body round the pagoda of Sundara linga once every day.
2. He must daily bathe three times in water which had been used to pour over the idol.
3. He must mow fresh grass daily and feed cows therewith.
4. He must minister to the wants of Siva-worshippers.
5. He must eat but once a day; and
6. He must obtain that one meal by begging.



Having followed this advice for three months with the 'greatest exactness, the sinner was fixed from his sin : and having learnt wisdom lived happily ever afterwards.

27TH STORY.—In the same reign an old man lived in Mad'hurâ, supporting himself by teaching the broad-sword exercise. After a time one of his pupils was so ungrateful as to set up a rival school, and draw away the old man's pupils : and not content with this, endeavoured to seduce his wife. One day he went so far as to offer the woman violence, but she effectually resisted him, and succeeded in locking him out of the house. Not being a babbler, she told no one what had happened : but she quietly prayed to Siva to avenge her, and the god heard her prayer. Disguising himself as the husband of the outraged woman, he sought out the wicked youth, and challenged him to single combat outside the city walls. The challenge was accepted, and a scientific duel fought with swords. The god put forth his power after a time, and by well directed blows cut off first one of his adversary's members, then another, and lastly his head ; loudly reviling him all the while for his wickedness.

Kulôttunga was greatly pleased when he heard of this amusement, and honored the god with new ceremonies and additional worship. He died : and was succeeded by his eldest son Anantaguna.

28TH STORY.—Anantaguna was a pious prince : and supported the Saiva faith with great zeal. So much so, that the Shapana heretics, the enemies of that faith, were obliged to perform a Yajna sacrifice in order to destroy him, and establish themselves in Mad'hurâ. They dug a huge sacrificial pit, and from it there arose a giant, who presently transformed himself into a monstrous serpent, and crawled along towards Mad'hurâ. His bulk was so prodigious as to reach almost to the skies. And he hissed forth so poisonous a breath, that such fowls of the air as flew through it fell to the earth poisoned, and died : and the trees sickened and withered away as he approached. The king thereupon went to the temple and prayed to Sundara linga : and was promised victory. And going forth to meet the enemy, he prayed to the god of Mad'hurâ, and then shot many arrows at the monster. But as fast as he shot, the serpent destroyed them : and he was compelled to pray once more to Siva. After this he hurled the weapon called B'halla at the enemy : and succeeded him in destroying it, and petrifying it into a huge rock, which is known to this day by the name of the "serpent hill."



But even now the Pândya's troubles were not ended : for the dying monster belched forth poisonous belchings, which struck down the people of Mad'hurâ like a plague. And they did not recover till Siva beneficently shook out some drops of nectar from his locks, and thereby rendered the poison innocuous.

29TH STORY.—The Shapana people thereupon retired discomfited. But they returned soon afterwards, and performed another Yajna sacrifice, out of which was born a giant still more fierce and stupendous than the former. And thinking that the Pândya would shrink from the responsibility of killing a cow, they directed the giant to assume the form of an enormous animal of that species, and advance against Mad'hurâ. And he did as he was bidden. Prayers were then offered up to Siva : and the god ordered his bull to increase enormously in bulk, and go out to meet and conquer the invading cow. His order was obeyed to the letter. The celestial bull approached the enemy, and appeared to be so fine and beautiful in her eyes that she was instantly attacked by paroxysms of erotic excitement, and at last fell dead on the ground. The cow's carcass became a rock, now known as the "cow-hill : " and in order to keep alive the remembrance of his victory the bull turned his body into a hill called the "bull-hill."

During this reign the great Râma marched southwards to rescue his wife from the power of her ravisher, the giant Râvana : and having encamped near the "bull-hill" with his army of monkeys, was advised by the Rishi Agastya to visit the holy city of Mad'hurâ. He did so : and worshiped Sundara linga, who vouchsafed to him a gift by means of which he was enabled to conquer the ravisher. After this the Pândya died : and was succeeded by his son Kula B'hûshana.

30TH STORY.—In this reign the king of a hunter caste that ruled in the Chêdi country threatened to attack Mad'hurâ ; and the Pândya hearing of it gave large sums of money to his general, and directed him to raise a sufficient number of cavalry, and drive the enemy away. But the general disobeyed his orders ; and thinking that it was better to put his trust in Siva, than in cavalry, spent all the money in charitable works. At the end of six months no preparations had been made to meet the foe : but the foe was within easy reach of the capital. Then the king called upon the general for the troops that ought to have been forthcoming : and the general pretended that they would be ready on the morrow. Having satisfied



his master with this answer, the general went to the Pagoda and prayed devoutly to Siva : and in due time he received an assurance that on the morrow a large body of cavalry should come to the rescue. After he retired to his sleeping apartment, he passed the night in a state of nervous excitement : but jumping up with the first streak of dawn was delighted beyond measure to see the plain which stretched away in front of the Palace covered with fine horsemen, and the god Siva himself leading them, seated on a white charger and magnificently attired. The king was soon informed of the arrival of the troops : and was pleased with their pre-eminently martial appearance. Whilst they awaited the arrival of the enemy, news came to the effect that the hunter king had been killed by a lion, and the Pândya at once gave the signal for the troops to disperse and return to their several countries. Scarcely had he done so, when they all vanished in a moment from his sight ; and he perceived that they were nothing but an unreal vision. He then learnt from his general what had happened : and caused the worship of Siva to be performed with more than usual splendour.

31ST STORY.—This king was not at all charitable. Indeed, he neglected the Brâhmans to so great an extent, that they were compelled to labor with their hands for their daily bread ; and were quite unable to keep up their daily ablutions prayers and offerings of incense. The consequence was, the gods grew angry and refused to send rain. Soon a terrible famine overtook the country : and the inhabitants were reduced to the greatest distress, and sought relief by emigrating in thousands to neighbouring countries. The king was grieved to see the misfortunes of his people, and prayed for help for a long time in the Pagoda : but to his mortification received no answer. He then returned to his palace, and passed the night on the floor, meditating upon the god Sundara linga. His meditation ended in sleep ; and the god appeared to him in a dream, and promised to give him a purse of money which should never become empty, as long as he applied its contents to the relief of Brâhmans and the poor. Waking up, the king found the purse beside him ; and soon set to work to test the truth of Sundara linga's promise. Endless donations were given to the Brâhmans and the poor in general : and the purse remained full as ever. Buildings were then built in honor of Sundara linga ; the Brâhmans returned to their prayers ablutions and offerings ; rain fell in abundance ; and the country became more fertile than ever.



**32ND STORY.**—In the same reign the god amused himself with some young women in the following manner. They had in a previous life been the wives of some Rishis, who retired with them to the Dâraka forest; whither Siva disguised as a beautiful monk went begging alms. The wives of the Rishis fell desperately in love with him; and surrounded, and tried to take him off each to her own house. The Rishis, when they saw this behaviour, were much displeased, and they pronounced a curse upon their wives, that they should be born as daughters of merchants at Mad'hurâ. Accordingly they were so born, and lived at Mad'hurâ. And then Siva visited them one day in the form of a bangle-seller of superlatively handsome appearance. He excited their passions as violently as he had on a previous occasion, by holding their hands, and fitting bangles on their arms: and the women conceived thereby, and bore children to him.

**33RD STORY.**—After this came the restoration to life of the six celestial wet-nurses of Siva's son Subramanya. These ladies had one day, a thousand years before, asked Siva, while he was conversing with his wife Pârvati under a banyan tree in his heaven Kailâsa, to explain to them the meaning of the eight principal magical powers. He graciously did so: but his auditors were so inattentive that he cursed them, and caused them to be petrified into rocks placed in the Pattamangala country, for the space of a thousand years. The period of their punishment having expired, Siva now restored them to life: and he also explained to them anew, and with the happiest results, the subject which they had professed to be so anxious to understand.

The eight principal magical arts or Ashta-mahâ Sidd'hi are described as being the following, viz:—

1. *Animâ*, which is the art of entering into a foreign body.
2. *Mahimâ*, or the art of so increasing the bulk of one's body, as to afford a resting place for all creation on its surface.
3. *Garimâ*, or the art of rendering small things infinitely ponderous.
4. *Lag'himâ*, or the art of lifting with ease the largest and heaviest substances.
5. *Prâpti*, or the art of gaining access through a small hole to Brahma's heaven.
6. *Prâkâm'hya*, or the art of transubstantiating oneself, entering into various worlds, procuring all things needful, and ascertaining the localities of different substances.



7. *Ishatwa*, or the art of creating, destroying, and protecting the world ; and rendering the planets obedient to the will.

8. *Vasitva*, or the art of rendering subject to one all created beings, and the gods together with Indra.

34TH STORY.—Kulab'hûshana's reign was remarkable for yet another amusement. The Chôla king of Kâncchipura, surnamed the clearer of jungles, was a strict Saivite, and was very anxious to visit Mad'hurâ, and worship Sundara linga. But he was not on good terms with the Pândya, and consequently was unable to do what he wanted. However Sundara linga appeared to him in a dream, and directed him to go to Mad'hurâ without fear having assumed a disguise : and he set out at once, in obedience to the god's direction. When he arrived at the north bank of the Mad'hurâ river, he found it in flood, and was in doubt what to do, when Sundara linga came to his assistance, and taking him by the hand led him over the surface of the waters. The north gate of the Pagoda was then opened by the god, and the Chôla king entered, and bathed in the golden-lily pool, and worshipped the linga. He was then taken across the river again, and returned to his country. The god then went back to the Pagoda, and fastened up the gate, substituting for the Pândya's seal, which was the representation of a fish, his own seal which was that of a bull. When the Pândya heard of this, he tried in vain to discover the person who had broken his seal : but at night the god told him in a dream, and he afterwards made friends with the Chôla king. Some time afterwards he died : and was succeeded by his son Râjêndra.

35TH STORY.—The friendship between the courts of Mad'hurâ and Kâncchipura greatly increased. The Chôla came frequently to Mad'hurâ : and the Pândya asked for and was promised the hand of a Chôla princess. But his younger brother Râja Sim'ha went secretly to the Chôla, and by some means induced him to throw over the Pândya and give his daughter to him, Râja Sim'ha. Moreover he induced the Chôla to march with a large army against Mad'hurâ. The Pândya had not the power of opposing a sufficiently numerous army to the invaders : but he collected what troops he had, and marched against the enemy, putting his trust in Siva and praying constantly to him for victory. A sanguinary battle was fought : and after a time both armies were completely exhausted. Then the god suddenly caused a booth furnished with inexhaustible supplies of water to appear on the ground occupied by the Mad'hurâ army, and



distributed drink by means of many water-carriers. The soldiers all drank and recovered their lost strength : and charging the enemy completely routed him. Moreover the Chôla and the Pândya's brother were both taken prisoners. The Pândya then asked the god what he should do with his captives ; and was ordered to do, as he pleased. Accordingly he acted with great generosity : released them both, sent the Chôla home loaded with presents, and granted a considerable fief to his brother.

36TH STORY.—During the same reign there flourished in Srî Pushpavana a very beautiful Dâsi or dancing girl attached to the Pagoda, and named Hêmâ. She was an ardent devotee of Siva : and whatever she received from her lovers, she expended in largesses to Brâhmans, and in other charitable acts. As she was extremely anxious but unable to make a golden image of Siva, the god took pity on her, and one night visited her in the form of a religious ascetic : and promised to grant her her wish, if she would but follow his directions. He then explained to her, that she must place all her brass pots and iron utensils on the fire, after sprinkling them with holy ashes, and leave them there all night. She did so : and next morning lo ! and behold ! she was possessed of a large lump of the precious metal. With this she immediately made an idol : and she was so delighted with it, that she kissed it on the cheek, and embraced it. The idol was placed in the temple, and it still bears the mark of the dancing girl's kiss. Rajendra at length died. He was succeeded by his son, and he by his son, who was in turn succeeded by his son, grandson, and great-grandson. Nothing noteworthy occurred during these five reigns : but when the last came to an end, Sundarêshwara Pâda Shêk'hara ascended the throne : and in his reign there was the following sacred amusement :—

37TH STORY.—The king being addicted to spending all the public money upon ecclesiastical buildings, the defences of the kingdom were neglected : and the Chôla king took advantage of his opportunity to invade Mad'hurâ at the head of a large army. The king prayed to Sundaralinga to protect him : and the god bade him be of good courage and march against the enemy with what few troops he had, namely 10,000 foot, 1,000 horse, 100 elephants, and 10 chariots. Accordingly the Pândya marched forth, and gave the enemy battle. The god assisted him by fighting on his side in the shape of a valiant warrior : and so long as this powerful ally fought,



victory inclined towards the Mad'hurâ army. But after a while he disappeared, and instantly the Chôla king rallied his troops, charged the Pândya's troops with spirit, and having rolled back the tide of war drove them in head-long flight into Mad'hurâ. In his anxiety to escape from the enemy the Pândya fell into the fort ditch: and in his anxiety to overtake and capture him the Chôla king also fell into it. Then the god showed his mercy by preserving the Pândya: and drowning the Chôla king: and the troops of the latter were defeated, and a large booty was taken from them, by means of which the worship of Sundaralinga was maintained with great splendour.

38TH STORY.—In the same reign a virtuous and pious man, a Sûdra named B'haktasâmya was granted an inexhaustible store of paddy under the following circumstances. He and his wife were both strict devotees of the god and very charitable to the poor; and never refused alms to religious mendicants. To try their faith, they were reduced to great poverty and distress: and at last made up their minds to commit suicide. Before doing so, however, they prayed to Sundaralinga for advice: and the god was so greatly moved by their distress, that he caused them to find in their house on their return from the Pagoda a bag of rice, which never failed, however much might be taken from it. They were thus made happy: and were enabled to give alms as freely and regularly as before.

39TH STORY.—About the same time, a wealthy Mad'hurâ merchant Art'hapati having no children adopted a sister's son. And shortly afterwards, in consequence of a domestic quarrel, he made over all his wordly goods to his adopted son, and retiring with his wife to the woods became a penitent. Upon this the merchant's kinsmen took counsel together, and forcibly dispossessed the adopted son and his mother of the property, and turned them out of their home. The woman being very religious applied to Sundara linga to assist her: and he appeared to her in a dream, and told her what to do. Accordingly on the following day she took her son to her home; challenged the wrong-doers in the king's name to stay indoors; and having assembled a council of arbitrators, laid the case before them in presence of the defendants. Whilst the case was being heard, the god appeared in the shape of the merchant; and having embraced the plaintiff, and listened to her pleading, declared that his kinsmen had no right to his estate. The defendants then slunk away abashed, one by one, and the god suddenly disappeared to the astonishment



of ail present, who soon came to perceive, who it was who had been speaking before them.

40TH STORY.—After the death of Sundarêsha Pâda Shêk'hara the king, his son Varaguna reigned in Mad'hurâ. He was remarkable for his devotion to the god: but had the misfortune to kill a Brâhman accidentally, by riding him down on a dark night when returning from hunting. In consequence of this he was perpetually tormented by the spirit which pursues slayers of Brâhmans, and could not find rest. At last the god took pity on him, and directed him to rout and pursue the Chôla king, who was about to attack him, as far as a place called Mad'hyârjuna, within the limits of the Chôla kingdom, and enter the Pagoda there. The Pândya did as he was bid: and as he entered the Pagoda by the east gate, the spirit was compelled to leave him, and remain in the tower above the gateway. After this he spent some time in the Pagoda of Madd'hyârjuna, expending large sums in repairing and beautifying it: and then returned to Mad'hurâ, leaving his tormentor behind him. Subsequently, the king was seized with an inextinguishable desire to see the heaven of Siva; and in order to please him Siva vouchsafed to him a vision of his heaven and all its glories in the Mad'hurâ Pagoda. Everything was shown to him: even Siva himself seated on his throne, and surrounded by crowds of the blessed. So great was the splendour of the scene, that the Pândya swooned away, unable to endure it; and when he recovered the vision had disappeared.

When the Rishi Agastya had finished his narration of this last sacred amusement, his auditors asked him, why it was that the Pândya could not get rid of the spirit in Mad'hurâ, if Mad'hurâ was indeed the holiest of holy places. And the Rishi explained that the god effected the king's relief in another holy place than Mad'hurâ as a warning and example to men. For they might be led to imagine that all sins, however heinous, could be removed by a single visit to Mad'hurâ, and the results of such a belief would be very evil.

41ST STORY.—During the reign of Varaguna there came to Mad'hurâ from some northern country a very excellent musician. He performed before the king, and gave so great satisfaction, that the king rewarded him handsomely and assigned him a lodging. The king sent for the chief of his musicians, soon afterwards, (his name was B'hadra, and he was of the Bâna caste,) and asked him if he could excel the stranger. He said he could with Siva's help: and a



match was made. But having heard of the performances of some of the stranger's pupil, he felt convinced that he would be worsted, and in great distress applied to Sundara linga to assist him. The god heard his prayer; and having disguised himself as an old laborer for hire, went and sang and played on a guitar outside the foreigner's house. His performance being superlatively excellent, he soon attracted the foreigner's attention: and on being questioned by him informed him that he was once a pupil of the Mad'hurâ master. Hearing this the foreigner very naturally came to the conclusion that he had no chance of vanquishing his opponent, and secretly left the city. B'hadra was therefore highly honored: and directed to sing daily in the Pagoda before the god.

42ND STORY.—Whilst so employed, B'hadra gave great satisfaction to Sundara linga and was rewarded by valuable presents of money, which the god abstracted from the royal treasury. But after a while the thefts were discovered, and sentries were posted round the treasury: and the god being unwilling to bring trouble upon them, discontinued making presents to his favorite. However he wrote a letter to the king of the Chêra country, directing him to give the bearer of it handsome presents, and directed B'hadra to carry it to the addressee. He did as he was bidden: and was rewarded with splendid presents, which he brought back to Mad'hurâ.

43RD STORY.—B'hadra never omitted to sing before Sundara linga every night, whatever might be the state of the weather: and on one occasion he pleased the god so much by finding his way as usual to the Pagoda in the midst of a tremendous storm, that the god presented him then and there with a thick plate or tablet of pure gold, upon which he might stand without keeping his feet in the water which covered that part of the floor of the pagoda where he always performed.

44TH STORY.—Varaguna died: and was succeeded by his son Râja Râja. This king had a wife who was an exceedingly skilful musician: and as B'hadra's wife was also an excellent musician, the two ladies grew very jealous, each of the others ability. The queen therefore induced the king to send for a musician from a foreign country to vanquish and cure her rival of her conceit: and a match having been made between the two professionals, the king improperly pronounced judgment in favor of the foreigner, wishing to please his



wife. But the unsuccessful lady protested against the award, knowing it to be unjust, and begged to be permitted to try her fortune once more in the presence of Sundara linga, with a view to the god pointing out the real victor. Her request was granted, and on an appointed day the rivals met before Sundara linga, and having tuned their instruments began to play. The Mad'hurâ lady was clearly the best musician : but nevertheless the king had not the moral courage to reverse his former decision, and was about to confirm it, when Sundara linga, who was present in the form of a handsome young minstrel, miraculously caused the king to decide in favor of B'hâdra's wife. The king soon became conscious of the god's interference, and worshipped him fervently. Soon afterwards he was blessed with a son Suguna, by whom he was afterwards succeeded.

45TH STORY.—During Râja Râja's reign the god was pleased to perform the following miracle. In a place on the south side of the river, called the Guru Tirt'ha, from the Guru of the gods having passed sometime there meditating on god's perfection, there were twelve brothers, who having been left orphans at an early age had grown up to be wild unmannered youths. One day these boys saw the celestial Guru intent on his meditations, and jeered him. The Guru thereupon cursed them, that they should be born as pigs in another life : but taking pity on them he was pleased to add a blessing to the effect that Sundara linga should himself suckle them, make them ministers of the Pândya, and eventually admit them into heaven. In consequence of the curse the young men were in due time born as the offspring of a wild sow, which was the mistress of the principal wild boar of a certain forest. Soon afterwards Râja Râja Pândya came to the forest to hunt boars, and after a terrific struggle killed both the parents of the young pigs. The dead body of their father was forthwith turned into a huge hill, which is still known as the "boar hill" : but his spirit was translated to heaven in a celestial vehicle sent for the purpose.

At this point the Rishis asked Agastya to explain, how it was that so vile an animal as a boar was turned into a mountain. He informed them, that the boar was really an angel, who had been cursed by a Rishi for accidentally disturbing his meditations ; and on being killed in that form, naturally resumed the form proper to him, whilst the slain body was turned into a mountain through his merits as an angel.



After the death of their mother the twelve pigs began to starve: but the god Sundara linga, who happened to come that way hunting with his wife, took compassion on their forlorn condition, and assuming the shape of their dead mother suckled and revived them. Immediately afterwards they were transformed into young men; but their faces still resembled those of pigs.

46TH STORY.—Subsequently, in obedience to a divine command, the Pândya made the young men his ministers, and married them to daughters of his nobles. They proved excellent servants, both of Siva and of the king, and administered the kingdom most excellently well. All the king's subjects were satisfied with their government: and unruly vassals were easily reduced to obedience.

47TH STORY.—The Pândya died and was succeeded by his son Suguna. During his reign a soul that had been very pious was compelled for some transgression to enter the body of a small kind of black bird, called B'haradwâja: and was terribly harassed and chased by other and stronger birds, till at last it was compelled to live a solitary life in the branches of a big tree that stood by the side of a high road. One day the little bird overheard some travellers talking about the rare holiness of Mad'hurâ; and at once flew off to that city, bathed in the golden-lily tank, and for three days flew round and round the Pagoda. Sundara linga was pleased with its piety, and taught it a prayer, by virtue of reciting which it obtained from the god an improvement in its condition, and was enabled to hold its own afterwards amongst the birds of the air. And after death its soul was taken to heaven.

48TH STORY.—About the same time a heron was induced by hearing some devotees praise Mad'hurâ to come to the golden-lily tank, and bathed in it, and flew round the Pagoda. Afterwards, being hungry, it was tempted to feed on some of the many fish which it saw in the tank. But just as it was about to seize one, its eyes were opened to the enormity of the offence contemplated: and it forthwith prayed to the god to kill its sinful body and remove its soul to the regions of bliss. Further it prayed him to prevent the possibility of such a sin being committed thereafter by other birds, by causing the tank to cease to produce fishes and frogs. And the god graciously heard its prayers.

49TH STORY.—Suguna died; and was succeeded by twenty-three kings, whose reigns were not distinguished by any miracles. His



twenty-third descendant was Kîrti Vib'hûshana: and in the reign of that king was the general deluge. By this the whole world was destroyed with the exception of the buildings which immediately surrounded the shrines of Sundara linga and his wife Mînâkshi, the golden lily tank, the "Elephant hill," the "Bull hill," the "Cow hill," the "Serpent hill," the "Boar hill," the "Seven Seas," and the town of Mad'hurâ.

When the waters subsided, the world was re-created by Siva, and everything appeared to be as it was before the flood. Moreover in every country kings were created of the very families which had formerly given kings thereto. For Mad'hurâ there was raised up a king of the race of the moon, called Vamsha Shêk'hara, who forthwith built a small city round the Pagoda. And the population of the city having increased with marvellous rapidity, it became necessary to re-construct it within its former limits. Prayer was made to Sundara linga: who appeared in the form of a prophet, his person adorned with serpents. Taking one of these, the god pointed out with it the ancient limits of the city: and the Pândya built houses up to them on every side, and raised fortifications along them. The east gate was placed at Pushpavana Kshêtra; the west at Patrikâ-puri; the north at the Vrushaba or bull hill; and the south at Parâchala. This being done the city was named Hâlâsya.

50TH STORY.—The Chôla king Vikrama invaded Mad'hurâ with a large army: and the Pândya being unable to resist him prayed to Sundara linga. The god bade him march against the enemy: and when an obstinate battle was being fought, appeared as a hunter and shot deadly arrows into the Chôla ranks, killing and wounding many, and throwing the rest into confusion. The Chôla king examined one of these arrows, and observing that the name of Sundara linga was engraved on it, concluded that the hunter was none other than the god, and began to retreat. On the hunter abusing the Chôla's men for being cowards, the Chôla attempted to rally them: but in vain. The rout became general, and he was forced to return to his capital. Rejoiced at this victory, the Pândya made and consecrated to the use of the god a bow and arrows of gold ornamented with precious stones, and with the god's name engraved upon them.

51ST STORY.—In this reign was established the celebrated Tamil college of poets at Mad'hurâ. Brahma had performed ten *ashwamedha* sacrifices at the holy place on the river Ganges called Kâsi, and was



about to bathe in the Ganges with his three wives. As he was going to the bathing place, Saraswati loitered behind, listening to the melodious tunes of a celestial minstrel: and finding fault with her husband for bathing without her, she was cursed for her impudence with the curse of undergoing forty-eight successive births upon earth. However, to mitigate her fate somewhat, Brahma willed that instead of assuming several forms one after another, she should take upon herself forty-eight different forms at one and the same time. There being fifty-one letters in the Samskrit alphabet, of which two were merely contractions and one the origin of all the others, she was to take upon herself a human form for each letter; each form was to become a Tamil poet of unrivalled excellence; and Sundara linga himself was to represent the forty-ninth and original letter. Fractions of Saraswati's soul were transfused according to this curse into forty-eight human beings, who became wonderful poets, came to Mad'hurâ from Mount Mêru, and were led to the Pagoda by Sundara linga himself. The Pândya received them kindly, and built a hall for their convenience in the Pagoda, which he called the College Hall. They settled in the city, and lived very happily, being greatly honored and respected: but they were much annoyed by the importunities and impertinences of envious blockheads, who fancied themselves to be their equals. Accordingly they petitioned the god to give them a bench, which would receive them, but none inferior to them, on which they might sit undisturbed: and a miraculous bench white as moonlight, measuring a cubit every way, and having the property of expanding just so much as was necessary to receive such members of the college as offered to sit upon it, was presented to them by Sundara linga. Upon this they all seated themselves, and no one was able to find a seat amongst them: for all who approached the bench were inferior in attainments to its occupants. But at last Sundara linga appeared in order to put an end to some jealousies which began to disturb their tranquillity; and the bench having admitted him forthwith, he became the principal of the college, and under his guidance numberless poems were composed in his honor. After this the king died: and was succeeded by his son Vamsha Chûdâmani.

52ND STORY.—This king obtained the surname of “Champaka,” through constantly adorning the god with wreaths of Champaka flowers, of which he planted out large gardens for the sole purpose of divine worship. He was walking one day with his queen on the



upper terrace of his garden enjoying the cool fragrant breeze, and suddenly smelt a perfume far more delicious than that of the flowers, which he fancied must come from the beautiful hair of his queen and not from the flowers which adorned it: and pleased with the idea he went off at once to the College Hall, and offered a bag of one thousand pieces of gold as a prize, to whoever should write a sonnet disclosing the conceit which had presented itself to his imagination. No one was able to guess what the king had been thinking about: and there seemed to be no chance of anybody winning the prize. But a devout young Âdi Siva Brâhman, who wanted but could not afford to get married, prayed to Siva and obtained from him the key to the secret: the god at once composed a good sonnet embodying the king's thought, and presented it to the suppliant. Having taken it to the College Hall, the young man claimed and was about to take possession of the bag of coins, when Natkira one of the poets asked him a question relative to the king's thought which he was unable to answer: and eventually forbade him to take the prize. Upon this he went to the Pagoda, and again prayed to Sundara-linga to assist him. The god appeared presently before the college as a poet, and desired to know wherein lay the fault which Natkira attributed to the poem. The objector then explained that in his opinion the idea of human hair having a fine perfume of its own was ridiculous: and gave other equally futile reasons for rejecting the poem. But the god suddenly opened his terrible middle eye, and directed a glance at Natkira, the burning splendour of which compelled the poet to leap into the waters of the golden lily tank in order to prevent his body from being burnt up. After this the prize was awarded to the Brâhman.

53RD STORY.—The god then disappeared. But he was recalled by the prayers of the whole college offered up in Natkira's behalf: and was pleased to look graciously upon the unfortunate man, who was forthwith enabled to come out of the tank.

54TH STORY.—After this Natkira used to bathe thrice a day in the golden lily tank, and to walk round the pagoda out of respect to Sundara linga, and to pray devoutly to that deity. And Sundara linga being much pleased with his piety, desired the sage Agastya to instruct him in the art of Tamil Grammar. And his order having been obeyed, Natkira taught the rest of the college what he had learnt from the sage.



55TH STORY.—Great jealousies prevailed amongst the members of the college, and each was claiming for himself superiority over his fellows. At last they begged the god to settle the dispute: and he ordered them to read their several compositions before a certain dumb man, whose form had been assumed by the god's son Subramanya. They did so, and the arbiter showed by signs that Natkiramabila and Bana were the three best poets among them. And thus their disputes were settled.

56TH STORY.—Vansha Chûdâmani died: and fourteen kings succeeded him, during whose reigns no miracles took place. The fifteenth king after him was Kulêshâ, who was so learned and clever a man, that the miraculous bench permitted him to seat himself upon it. But he was very proud and conceited, and thought that no one could surpass him in acquirements. And, when an extraordinarily clever stranger named Madd'hyâranyêswara came to Mad'hurâ, the king paid him not the slightest respect. Angry at this the stranger complained to Sundara linga: and the god, in order to punish the king's bad manners, removed with Mînâkshi from the pagoda to the place where was a linga consecrated by Kubêra, the god of riches, attended by the whole of the college. When the king heard what had happened, he was much grieved, and besought the god to return to his old quarters. A voice was heard, which declared the reason of the god's anger: and soon afterwards the god's returned to the pagoda together with the members of the college. The king then made up for his former discourtesy by setting the stranger upon a throne of gold, attentively hearing his works read, and paying him every possible honor. He died: and was succeeded by his son Rimardana.

57TH STORY.—During his reign Sundara linga was one day explaining the mysteries of the Vêdas to his wife Mînâkshi. She was attentive to what he said: and he cursed her, that she should become the daughter of a fisherman. On her complaining that existence would be insupportable were she separated from him, he promised to become a fisherman and marry her upon earth. The god's two sons Subramanya and Vig'hnêshwara were angry at their mother being cursed, and rudely threw the Vêdas into the sea. Upon this the god cursed his head porter Nandêshwara for allowing his sons to come before him without permission, and willed that he (the head porter) should become a large fish. And he punished



Subramanya by willing that he should be born as the son of a Mad'hurâ merchant. On Vig'hnêshwara he was unable to inflict any punishment, having previously granted to him the boon of being able to transfer to his father the evil consequences of any curse that might fall upon him. In due time Mînâkshi was transformed into a new-born female child, the offspring of the head man of a caste of fishers who lived in a large city on the coast of Mad'hurâ. When she had become a girl of a marriageable age, Nandêshwara, who had been turned into a huge sword-fish, picked up all the Vêdas which had been thrown into the sea, and then began to harass incessantly all the vessels which frequented the Mad'hurâ coasts. In consequence of this the putative father of Mînâkshi promised her in marriage to whoever could catch the intruder: and Sundara linga having appeared in the form of a fisherman and caught the fish, claimed his prize and married her amid great rejoicings. As soon as the ceremony was performed, the two gods resumed their proper forms, and mounted their sacred buli, Nandêshwara attending them; heavenly music was heard from on high; and showers of flowers were rained down from heaven. The pair then returned to the pagoda at Mad'hurâ; but they halted on their way at Utt'harakôsa Srî Mangai, a holy place near Râmanât'hapura, and the god there explained to his wife the mysteries of the Vêdas.

58TH STORY.—During the same reign there lived in Vâtt'hapura, on the north side of the river Veigei, a young Brâhman of wonderful talent and ability. Before he was sixteen, he had mastered the four Vêdas and the sixty-four Kalagayanas: and his fame had spread in every direction. The king heard of him, and having sent for him was so much pleased with his acquirements that he made him Prime Minister. The youth gave great satisfaction in this capacity, and was highly honored: but he nevertheless was unhappy, and could not find rest, being unable to satisfy himself with regard to the way of salvation. Religious doubts filled his mind, and troubled his heart. One day the king looked over his stud of cavalry horses, and finding that remounts were much needed, gave his Prime Minister a very large sum of money, and ordered him to go to some distant country, and purchase a number of horses. The Prime Minister took the money, and set out: but stopped at a holy place called Mahâ-tîrt'ha, and there, after being favored with a vision of Siva, spent the whole



of it in building buildings for the honor and glory of the god. He sent excuses from time to time to the king, and at last returned to Mad'huro declaring that the horses would appear in a day or two. The god had promised to help him out of his difficulty, and he felt confident that all would be right.

59TH STORY.—The horses did not come: and the king lost patience, and had his minister tortured. He was placed in the sun, with a heavy stone on his back and wooden pinchers on his hands. However he prayed to Siva, and was comforted. He felt no pain in his body: and after he had been imprisoned for a few days, the god appeared as a cavalier, mounted on a white horse formed of the four Vêdas, and brought with him an immense number of horses, which were placed in the royal stables. And he instructed the king, who was much pleased with his noble appearance, in the science which treats of the proper selection of horses.

60TH STORY.—Now these horses were in reality jackals, which had been transformed by Nandêswara at Siva's command. Being unable to eat grass, they became mad with hunger after a while; broke loose from the ropes which held them; resumed their proper shapes; bit and killed some of the grooms and king's horses; and eventually ran off to the forest. Hearing of this, the king was convinced that his minister was playing him a trick, and again had him tortured. Siva became angry at seeing his favorite thus used: and sent a terrible flood in the river Veigei which soon threatened to entirely destroy the Pândya's capital. The torturers thereupon set the minister at liberty: and he went to the Pagoda, and prayed to god with a serene mind.

61ST STORY.—The king called a council to determine, how the impending danger might best be averted: and it was resolved to compel every citizen of Mad'hurâ to assist in raising the bank of the river so as to keep off the flood. And accordingly a certain portion of the bank was assigned to every citizen, and he was directed to raise it to a certain height within a certain time. A pious old woman named Ambu, who made a living by selling cakes, was much troubled at not being able to find a laborer to do the work allotted to her: but at last Sundara-linga took pity on her, and having assumed the form of a laborer sixteen years old, agreed to do her work in consideration of receiving some cakes. He then went off to the river with a spade and basket to raise the bank. But instead of doing as he promised,



he loitered about and amused himself : till the king, perceiving that the bank was watertight everywhere but at the place where the old woman had to raise it, took a rattan and laid it heavily across the laborer's shoulders. Upon this the laborer started up ; threw a basket of earth into the gap ; and forthwith to the astonishment of the king and all present the gap was securely filled up. The laborer then disappeared. While the king was wondering who the laborer could be, he perceived that a wheal had made its appearance upon his body in the part, on which he had applied the rattan to the laborer's body. And on enquiry he found out that every inhabitant of Mad'hurâ, male and female, and every living creature had been marked in the same manner. The reason of this was that, Siva being omnipresent, the blow which struck his assumed body affected every living creature in the world at the same time. The king was greatly astonished at all that had happened : and proposed questioning the old woman. But, as soon as the king and his courtiers approached her dwelling, she was so alarmed, thinking that she was about to be punished for the fault of her laborer, that she fell down dead ; and her soul was carried away in a celestial vehicle, amidst the joyful congratulations of the blessed and showers of flowers from on high. The king then went to the Pagoda, and prayed to Siva to forgive him. A voice in the air replied that he must forgive his disgraced minister, and excuse him from returning the money advanced to him for the purchase of horses. This was done : and the minister was permitted to go abroad, and visit Chidambara. And the king was blessed with a son, whom he named Jagannât'ha. When the young prince had grown up, the king crowned him : and soon afterwards died. Meanwhile the minister worshipped at Chidambara the god Sab'hâpati or Siva : and thence retired to a forest on its west side, called the Thillivana, where he passed his time in meditation. Whilst he was thus employed, a number of Baûdd'has, professors of the Baûdd'ha religion and enemies of that of Siva, came to Chidambara from a certain island, and began to contend in argument with a Brâhman sect, called the " Thilli, three thousand," then settled in Chidambara. The Brâhmanes prayed to the god, who directed them to fetch the minister from his place of retirement. They did so, and the minister confounded the Baûdd'has by explaining to them that his god was sex-less, was the beginning and the end, and was present in the souls of all living creatures. Moreover he took some sacred ashes in his hand, and declared that god was as white as that substance, and was used



to besmear his person therewith. Now the then Chôla king of Kânchipura, being a Baûdd'ha religionist, was greatly scandalized when he heard of the defeat of his sect at Chidambara. And he came to that city, bringing with him his dumb daughter, and promised to become a convert to the Saiva faith, if its champion could cure his child's defect. Mânikya Vâchaka, the minister, effected this by prayer, and by daubing sacred ashes on the princess' forehead, and agreeably to his promise the Chôla king became a Siva worshipper. Moreover he had all the Baûdd'ha worshippers crushed in oil presses; they having agreed to so suffer, if defeated, before they argued with Mânikya Vâchaka.

62ND STORY.—Jagannât'ha's ninth descendant was Kubja or "the hunchback." He was a valiant prince, and conquered the Chôla king. However he permitted the conquered king to retain his kingdom, and married his daughter Vanitêshwari. He also appointed the Chôla minister, Kulaband'hana, Prime Minister of Mad'hurâ. Sometime afterwards the Pândya became converted to the religion of the Shapana heretics, and imposed it so rigorously on all his subjects that the outward worship of Siva could not be observed. But Sundara-linga still had secret adherents, amongst whom were the queen and the minister. One day a Saiva Brâhman came to them from the Chôla country, and informed them that in that part of it called Bramhapura a certain Brâhman named Sivapâdâbja H'rudaya had a child, which had been nursed by the goddess Mînâkshi when three years old, and having drunk in wisdom with her milk had become while still an infant a teacher of the greatest ability. Being of the essence of Siva, the child was called Gnyânasamband'ha Mûrti: and he was now performing miracles. Hearing this, the queen and the minister thought that by means of this illustrious youth they might perhaps win back the king to the true faith: and they wrote respectfully to him, asking him to pay Mad'hurâ a visit and purify it of its heresy. As soon as he received the letter Gnyânasamband'ha Mûrti got into his palanquin adorned with pearls, and came to Mad'hurâ at the head of 16,000 disciples, and with bands of music playing before him. The Shapana heretics became very angry: and tried to destroy the intruder by setting fire to his house. But he was too strong for the fire; and having prevented it from doing more than make a great smoke, bade it enter the body of the king, which it did causing a violent fever. The Shapana people were thereupon



called in to cure the disease; but they failed utterly. And then, very reluctantly, the king sent for Gnyânasamband'ha Mûrti. The young priest cured the fever at once, by rubbing on the sick man's body sacred ashes, over which he first recited ten extempore verses. And besides this the curvature of his back was removed instantaneously; and the king assumed the name of Sundara or "the beautiful," being possessed of a handsome fair and figure. Seeing that the Saiva faith was undoubtedly the true faith, the king adopted it without delay: and its apostle prepared to retire to his own country.

63RD STORY.—As soon as the king had recovered from his fever, the queen and her brother begged of him to destroy the 16,000 Shapana heretics: and the king having consulted the god in the temple and received a favorable answer, permission to destroy them was given. In the meantime the Shapana chiefs came forward, in spite of the ill-omened dreams of their wives, and challenged the young professor of the Saiva faith to a fresh trial of strength. They proposed that he and they should write prayers upon palmyra leaves, and throw them into a fire: and he whose leaves were not destroyed should be the victor. This challenge was accepted: and all the leaves were destroyed except those of the youth. Another trial was then made. Other leaves were inscribed with prayers, and thrown into the river, upon condition that he whose leaf floated upstream should be held to be victorious, and the youth was once more successful. Upon this the Shapana heretics acknowledged themselves beaten: and forthwith several thousand stakes were erected outside the city for their impalement. And all were put to death, who were found in Mad'hurâ, with the exception of those who consented to smear themselves with the sacred ashes which symbolize the faith of Sîva. After this search was made for the leaf which had moved upstream, and Gnyânasamband'ha Mûrti found it at last in a forest of Bilva trees, at a spot about ten miles west of Mad'hurâ; where also a linga was then seen for the first time. Siva appeared there in the form of an aged Brâhman, blessed the young priest, and commissioned him to travel about and exterminate professors of the hated Shapana religion wherever he found them. The king carefully marked this spot, and constructed on it a church which he named Patrikâpura. This happened in the Kaliyuga.

64TH STORY.—In a certain city on the coast there lived a wealthy and pious merchant, who had no issue. After much prayer he was



at last to his great joy blessed with a daughter, who grew up a fair handsome girl, and showed signs of a good disposition. He intended to marry her to the son of his sister, then living in Mad'hurâ. But before he could carry out his wishes in this respect, he died; and his wife unable to bear her widowhood died shortly afterwards in the sure hope of meeting him in heaven. After this the merchant's relatives sent for his nephew: and after showing great sorrow, he obeyed the call, leaving his wife behind him to await his return. Having come to his uncle's house, and taken possession of his property, he was returning to Mad'hurâ with his cousin; when at a place called Sivapura he was bitten by a serpent whilst sleeping, and died of the bite. As the young lady overwhelmed with grief was passionately lamenting her hard fate, Gnyânasamband'ha Mûrti happened to pass by: and taking pity on her looked, with a compassionate eye upon the corpse. Straightway the dead man became alive: and the lately separated couple were then and there married by the advice of their benefactor. In default of witnesses a linga, a well, and a Shemi tree which belonged to the church of Siva at the place where they then were, were called upon to witness the marriage. In due time the happy pair arrived at the husband's home in Mad'hurâ: and they lived in great harmony at first with the first wife. But by and by a quarrel arose between the two women: and the first wife abused the second on the score of her not having been really married. If she had been married, where were her witnesses? The second wife thereupon consulted the god, and obtained from him the following boon. The linga, the well, and the Shemi tree came from the church and appeared publicly in the Mad'hurâ Pagoda. After this no one could gainsay the marriage. The linga and well may still be seen in Mad'hurâ.





## CHAPTER II.

*List of the Pândya Dévas.—Correctness of the list.—Lists of Hindû kings admissible in evidence.—The first Pândya.—The foundation of Mad'hurâ.—Other Southern Capitals before and after Mad'hurâ.—Evidence afforded by the Mahâransi as to the date of the building of Mad'hurâ.—Extent of the ancient Pândya-mandala.—Linga worship before Brâhmanism.—Arjuna did not marry a Pândya princess.—The three-breasted Queen.—Ugra.—The Shapana heretics.—The coming of Râma to Mad'hurâ.—The Chêdi king.—Distress of the Brâhmans.—Chôla wars.—Varaguna.—The deluge and re-building of Mad'hurâ.—Vikrama the Chôla.—The Poet's College.—Parava kings on the coast.—Mânikyâ Vâchaka.—The Baûdd'has.—They never came as far south as Mad'hurâ.—The extermination of the Shapanas in Kân Pândya's time.—Gnyânasamband'ha Mârtil.—The date of Kân Pândya very doubtful.—Attempts to fix it.—His inscription.—The facts it records and points to.—Another inscription.*

The Purâna furnishes the following:—

## LIST OF THE PANDYA KINGS.

No.	Name or title.	Its meaning.
1.	Kula Shêk'hara Pândya. ...	...Head ornament of the race.
2.	Malaya D'hwaja P. ...	...Flag in the Malaya country.
3.	Sundara P. ...	...Beautiful.
4.	Ugra P. called ...	...Terrible.
	Hârad'hâri.. ...	...Wearer of the hâra.
5.	Vîra P... ..	...Heroic.
6.	Ab'hishêka P. ...	...Anointed.
7.	Vikrama P.... ..	...Valorous.



LIST OF THE PANDYA KINGS—*continued.*

<i>No.</i>	<i>Name or title.</i>	<i>Its meaning.</i>
8.	Raia Shêk'hara P. ... ..	...Head-ornament of Râjas.
9.	Kulôttunga P. ... ..	...Exalter of the race.
10.	Anantaguna P. ... ..	...Of innumerable qualities.
11.	Kulab'hûshana P. ... ..	...Ornament of the race.
12.	Râjendra P.... ... ..	...Lord of Râjas.
13.	Râjêsha P. ... ..	...Chief of Râjas.
14.	Râjagamb'hira P... ..	...Majestic among Râjas.
15.	Pândya Vamsha Pradîpa P..	...Lamp of the Pândya Race.
16.	Puruhûta P... ..	...? Synonym for Indra
17.	Pândya Vamsha Patâka P...	...Banner of the Pândya race.
18.	Sundarêsha Pâda Shêk'hara P....	Who has for his head-orna- ment the feet of Sundarêsha, that is of Siva.
19.	Varaguna P... ..	...Of excellent qualities.
20.	Râja Râja P... ..	...Râja of Râjas.
21.	Suguna P. ... ..	...Of good qualities.
22.	Chitra Vrata P. ... ..	...Of wonderful vows.
23.	Chitra B'hûshana P. ... ..	...Of wonderful ornaments.
24.	Chitra D'hwaja P. ... ..	...Of wonderful flags.
25.	Chitra Varma P.... ..	...Of wonderful armour.
26.	Chitra Sêna P. ... ..	...Of wonderful armies.
27.	Chitra Vikrama P. ... ..	...Of wonderful valour.
28.	Râja Mârtânda P.. ... ..	...Sun of kings.
29.	Râja Chûdâmani P. ... ..	...Head-gem of kings.
30.	Râja Shârdûla P.. ... ..	...Tiger amongst kings.
31.	Dwija Râja Kulôttunga P...	...Exalter of the race of the moon.
32.	Âyud'ha Pravîna P. ... ..	...Skilful with arms.
33.	Râja Kunjara P.... ..	...Elephant amongst Râjas.
34.	Para Râja B'hayankara P...	...Terrifier of foreign kings.
35.	Ugra Sêna P. ... ..	...Of a fearful army.
36.	Mahâ Sêna P. ... ..	...Of a great army.
37.	Shatrunjaya P. ... ..	...Conqueror of enemies.
38.	B'hîmarat'ha P ... ..	...Of a terrible chariot.
39.	B'hîmaparâkkrama P... ..	...Of terrible valour.
40.	Pratâpa Mârtânda P... ..	...Valorous as the Sun.
41.	Vikrama Kanchuka P.. ...	...Armed with valour.



LIST OF THE PANDYA KINGS—*continued.*

No.	Name or title.	Its meaning.
42.	Yudd'ha Kôlâhala P.	...Of the din of war.
43.	Atulâ Vikrama P.	...Of unparalleled valour.
44.	Atula Kîrti P.	...Of unparalleled fame.
45.	Kîrti Vib'hûshana P.	...Adorned with fame.
46.	Vamsha Shêk'hara P.	...Head-ornament of the race.
47.	Vamsha Chûdâmani P.	...Head-gem of the race.
	also called Champaka	...A kind of flower.
48.	Pratâpa Shûrasêna P.	...Of a valorous and heroic army.
49.	Vamsha D'hwaja P.	...Flag of the race.
50.	Ripu Mardana P.	...Smiter of foes.
51.	Chôla Vamshântaka P.	...Destroyer of the Chôla race.
52.	Chêra Vamshântaka P.	...Destroyer of the Chêra race.
53.	Pândya Vamshêsha P.	...Lord of the Pândya race.
54.	Vamsha Shirômani P.	...Head-gem of the race.
55.	Pândyêshwara P.	...Pândya lord.
56.	Kûla D'hwaja P.	...Flag of the race.
57.	Vamsha Vib'hûshana P.	...Ornament of the race.
58.	Sôma Chûdâmani P.	...Having the moon for a head-gem.
59.	Kula Chûdâmani P.	...Head-gem of the race.
60.	Râja Chûdâmani P.	...Head-gem of Râjas.
61.	B'hûpa Chûdâmani P.	...Head-gem of kings.
62.	Kulêsha P.	...Chief of the race.
63.	Arimardana P.	...Smiter of foes.
64.	Jagannât'ha P.	...Lord of the world.
65.	Vîrabâhu P.	...Of valorous arms.
66.	Vikrama P....	...Valorous.
67.	Surab'hi P.	...The celestial cow.
68.	Kunkuma P.	...Of red powder.
69.	Karpûra P...	...Of camphor.
70.	Kârunya P...	...Merciful.
71.	Purushôttama P.	...Best of men.
72.	Shatrushâsana P.	...Punisher of foes.
73.	Kubja P.	...Hunchback.
	afterwards called Sundara P.	Beautiful.
	and known in Tamil as Kûn	
	or Kûna Pândya.	



This list differs more or less from each of those given by Wilson in his paper in Volume iii of the Journal of the R. A. S. on the kingdom of the Pândyas, both in the names and number of the kings. Which of them is probably the most correct, it would be too hazardous for me to attempt to show. But it is observable that Wilson's lists all with one exception end with the name Kuna Pândya, and therefore must have been derived from Vernacular and not Sanskrit documents, inasmuch as Kuna is clearly a false reading for Kûn or Kûna the Tamil equivalent of Kubja, which means the dwarf or hunchback and was the soubriquet by which the last of the great Pândyas was known before he was made straight and "beautiful" (Sundara) by Gnyânasamband'ha Mûrti, the great Saiva champion. There is some ground therefore I think for supposing that the list given above is more authentic than any of Wilson's. For, as observed before, the vernacular versions and imitations of the old Purâna, such as the Telugu work known as the "Hâlâsya Mâhâtmya," and the Tamil "Tiruvileiyâdal" which Wilson appears to have relied on, contain numberless alterations of stories and interpolations of the grossest and most barefaced kinds, perpetrated with the design of pandering to the Hindû taste for the marvellous, and at the same time flattering individuals and communities by connecting the names of their ancestors or villages with great events.

But it is hardly worth while discussing the probability of this or that list being the more correct, when it is quite within the bounds of possibility that all are more or less faulty and comparatively valueless for the purposes of strict history. Though not prepared to go the length of saying with some, that the names are all purely fictitious, I must admit that I see very good grounds for doubting the fact—<sup>1</sup> exactly 73 Pândyas reigned in succession in Mad'hurâ; and that the names in the list which I have prepared were the very names given to each by his parents at the time of his birth. Judging from the fact that every petty Hindû Râja of the present day has from five to twenty names and titles, most of which are known to only one or two of his servants and dependents, and the number of which is constantly being added to by fawning bards and poets, there seems to be every reason to believe that each of the Pândyas, and particularly the most famous, had a large number of names and titles, some Sanskrit some Tamil of which as many perhaps as three or four were much more generally known and used than the others. These favorite names and titles would naturally be used by the poets of the day



without distinction or explanation : and thus probably it has come about that no two lists of names agree, or even appear to be reconcilable. A good illustration of this practice of Hindû Râjas bearing a large number of names and titles may be found in the translation of a Tamil inscription given at page 67 of this part. And that the practice obtained in the times of the Pândyas, appears clearly from the Purâna. The last king was called Kubja and afterwards Sundara in Samskrit, whilst his Tamil and more common name was Kûn or Kûna; the 4th king, Ugra, was surnamed Hâra-d'hâri; and the 47th king, Vamsha Chûdâmani, was also called Champaka from constantly using the sacred Champaka flower in religious worship. Moreover many of the so-called names are clearly mere titles, such as Ab'hishêka, (see story 17,) Surab'hi, Karpûra, Yudd'hakôlâhala, Chôlântaka, Chêrântaka and others, and could not possibly have been given to babies by parents.

I think therefore that the safest plan of dealing with the various lists of the Pândya kings is to assume always that each of them is to a great degree incorrect and imperfect : but is probably at the same time entitled to more or less credit. However careless and mendacious native witnesses and chroniclers of events may be, their stories generally rest upon a foundation of truth ; and it would be most unwise, it seems to me, to reject wholesale the only available evidence of what happened in Mad'hurâ in ancient times afforded by our Purâna. But it must come to this, if we declare the list of kings to be altogether false and valueless ; we can hardly reject the list, and at the same time receive as credible the recorded acts of the kings.

As for the objection to the credibility of lists which give Samskrit names to Tamil kings of very early ages, based on the assumption that the Samskrit language was introduced into the south of India at a later period than that in which those kings are said to have reigned, an objection put forward by many Orientalists and amongst others by the great Wilson, I would with all deference submit that it is unsound and should carry no weight with it. The Samskrit writers who composed the list would naturally do every thing in their power to avoid writing harsh and inelegant Tamil names in Samskrit letters. They would, as a matter of course, translate all titles and such names as bore meanings ; and they would so alter meaningless names as to make them resemble as closely as possible Samskrit forms. But it would only be in very rare instances that they would give up a Tamil name as hopeless, and substitute a perfectly different Samskrit name or title



in its place. Thus the Tamil name Alagan would be turned into its equivalent Sundara, Kûn into Kûbja, and so forth. Not only is it more reasonable to suppose that this was done, than to suppose that men deliberately sat down and composed a number of names for the mere pleasure of lying: but we have some evidence going to show that the supposition is correct; for it appears clearly from the lists of the Pândyas given by Wilson, that in some cases one and the same title was differently rendered by different writers. Thus the title *Yuddha Kôlâhala* of one writer is the *Samara Kôlâhala* of another.

But this is not a controversial work: and I must now proceed to give in order the historical facts which appear to be deducible from the Purâna, illustrating them with a few brief remarks.

The first thing observable is the statement to the effect that the first Pândya, Kula Shêk'hara, was reigning in a capital called Kalyânapura, situated east of the Kadamba forest, before Mad'hurâ was built. Wilson tells us in his introduction to the Catalogue of the McKenzie MSS., that according to the "local traditions" the first settler in the country was a person named Pândya who came from Oude, and was of the agricultural caste: and that there was a capital of earlier date than Kalyânapura called Kurkhi, probably the "Kolchi" of the Periplus. And in his article in Vol. iii of the R. A. S. Journal, Wilson observes that the name is perhaps, "as D'Anville notices, still to be traced in the appellation Kilkhar, or Kilakarai on the Coromandel coast opposite to Rameswaram. One of the Pandya monarchs, named Sampanna Pandya, invited the Chola and Chera princes to the wedding of his son. On their way to Kurkhi they were caught by violent rains, and compelled by the flooded state of the country to remain encamped on one spot for a month, in memory of which event the Pandya built a city there and called it Kalyanapur, which was for some time the capital of his son and successor, Kula Sek'hara."

Now, whilst fully aware how exceedingly dangerous a thing it is to throw any doubt on statements made by this learned scholar, I think it my duty to declare that the local traditions he refers to are not now, as far as I can learn, current in the Madura District. The story of the man of Oude may doubtless be found in certain Hindû writings, but I do not believe it is traditional in the country to which it relates. And the Pândya kings of the lunar race are commonly believed to be of the Kshatriya, not of the Vellâla or any other agricultural caste.



Then the story about the foundation of Kalyānapura would appear to be an idle legend of modern manufacture. The town is said in the Purāna to have been "west of the Kadamba forest" the site of the town of Mad'hurâ, and such being the case it is difficult to see how the Chôla king from the north-east could have found himself there whilst on the road to Kurkhi in company with the Chêra king of the Western Coast. And the idea of the Samskrit name "Kurk'hi" surviving in "Kîlakarei" which is a pure Tamil word of four syllables meaning "Eastern Coast," appears to be too absurd to require refutation. I am informed that there is a once celebrated town of the name of Kurikâ-puri, in Tamil Kurugûr, in the Tinnevely District, and possibly this is the Kurk'hi referred to by Wilson.

But in point of fact it is really a matter of very little importance whether Kurk'hi was or was not situated in this or that particular locality, and was or was not the capital of a country which afterwards was known as that of the Pândya ; for there can be no doubt, looking to local traditions and legends which have come down to us, that many Tamil towns of which scarcely a vestige now remains, were at different times capitals of more or less extensive tracts of country. Of these the best known are perhaps Manalûr a few miles east of Madura ; old Madura on the north bank of the Veigai, and about a mile distant from Madura ; Mâdakulam, which till quite lately gave a name to what is now the Madura tâlûk ; Uttara Kôsa Mangei near Râmnâd ; and the Nallûr of the Marava country. Then it was said that there was once a large city near the Alagar mountain. And doubtless many towns in the Tinnevely District were once populous and famous.

The date of the building of Mad'hurâ is involved in the greatest obscurity. Supposing the last Pândya to have lived in the eleventh century of our era—his date will be hereafter discussed at some length—and allowing 18 years for the reign of each of his seventy-two predecessors, we might suppose the beginning of the third century B. C. or end of the fourth to be the time at which Mad'hurâ was built. But of course this would be only an uncertain and at the best approximate date. According to Mr. Dowson (see his article on the Chêra kingdom in volume viii of the R. A. S. Journal) the Chêra dynasty arose at the beginning of the fifth century of our era : and a Châlûkya inscription given by Mr. Wathen in R. A. S. Journal volume v, page 343, dated A. D. 490, refers to the king of the Chêra country together with those of the Chôla and Pândya countries. And as it appears



clearly from the Purâna that Ugra the 4th king of Mad'hurâ was co-temporary with a Chêra prince, the first Pândya should according to this calculation be placed in the middle of the fourth century of our era. But Mr. Taylor has protested most emphatically against the assumption of Mr. Dowson that the dynasty of Konga kings, whose history is given in the MS. upon which Mr. Dowson founded his memoir of the Chêra kingdom, was a Chêra dynasty: and his protest, contained in volume xiv of the Madras A. R. A. S. Journal, certainly seems to be based upon excellent grounds. No inference therefore, I think, can safely be drawn as to the date of the commencement of the Pândya dynasty from any date deducible from the MS. above referred to.

Professor Wilson appears to have assumed in the same way as Mr. Dowson that the Konga dynasty was a Chêra dynasty, and places its foundation in the fifth century of our era (see his introduction to his catalogue, page xciii). But at the same time he states in the same page, though without giving any authorities, that "Chêra or as it is also called Kanga" (Konga ?) was probably an independent principality at the commencement of the Christian era. He places the first of the Pândyas, again without citing any authorities, in the third or fourth century B. C. in his introduction; and in the fifth or sixth century B. C. in his paper on the Pândya kingdom in volume iii of the R. A. S. Journal. It is clear therefore that he was not very well satisfied in his mind as to when the foundation of Mad'hurâ took place. And he was probably a little hasty in separating by so long an interval of time the first Pândya and the first Chêra. If as our Purâna states, the 4th Pândya and a Chêra king were co-temporary, and Wilson was right in placing the first Chêra in the first century of our era, it would perhaps be pretty safe to place the founder of Mad'hurâ at the beginning of the first century B. C. Two hundred or two hundred and fifty years would be ample time for the country to become settled and generally known as the Pândya country, particularly if Pândyas had previously reigned at Kalyânapura; and there would be nothing strange in Ptolemy the geographer so describing it in the second century of our era.

Mr. Taylor seems to think it probable that the Pândya family emigrated from the north into the Mad'hurâ country as early as 1,500 B. C. But he has not proved his point by reliable evidence: and his opinion must go for what it is worth.



A passage in the Mahāvansi shows that a Pândya was reigning in Mad'hurâ shortly after the death of Budd'ha, which event is commonly placed in the sixth century B. C. : and it may be well to quote it. After stating that king Wijeya came to Ceylon with 700 warriors "on the day of the death of our Budd'ha," it goes on to say (see Upham's Mahāvansi page 70) he sent ambassadors "who brought "from Daccina-Madura the daughter of the king Pandya and about "700 daughters of the different chief men of that place, with a train "of men of eighteen different classes, and also five different classes "of workmen. The king was afterwards married to the princess, "the daughter of the king Pandya, and was crowned, and reigned in "tranquillity in the city Tammanah thirty-eight years." Supposing therefore that reliance can be placed on this statement, we must go farther back than has been suggested by Wilson for the foundation of Mad'hurâ and of the Pândya dynasty. It is just possible though that the first Pândya immigrated into the southern part of India and founded Mad'hurâ at the same time that king Wijeya immigrated into Ceylon, namely towards the end of the sixth century B. C., and if so Wilson is correct in one of his guesses.

With regard to the extent of the Pândya kingdom in its earliest times, it is observable that Ptolemy speaks of the country as being "Mediterranea," and I infer from this that it was of no very great size, and did not reach to any point near the sea either east, west or south. Probably the Chêra country, of which Palani it is said was then the northernmost town, hemmed it in on the south and west; the Chôla country on the north and north-east; and the Marava or Parava on the east and south-east. The Marava country I think there is good reason to believe was in early times independent: and the Paravas probably occupied the eastern coast under kings of their own. See for this my notice of the Paravas.

On the other hand it appears from Wilson's note to page 200, vol. iii, R. A. S. Journal, that "the author of the Periplus of the Erythrean "sea particularises Nelcynda or Neliceram; Paralia, Malabar, or "Travancore; and Comari, Cape Comorin as *ὑπὸ τὸν βασιλέα Πανδίουνα*, "under king Pandion. Dr. Vincent conjectures, that the king of "Madura had extended his power from the eastern to the western "side of the Peninsula, and was master of Malabar when the fleets "from India first visited the coast (vol. ii, 401.) He also thinks it "likely that the power of Pandion had been superseded in Malabar "between the age of the Periplus and Ptolemy; for Ptolemy reckons



“ the Aü next to Limurike on the south, and takes no notice of “ Pandion till he is passed Cape Comorin (ibid.) ”

It is therefore quite possible that some of the early Pândya kings greatly extended their power from time to time in all directions but the north. But at the same time it is most probable that their conquests were always of a purely temporary nature, and that they were defeated by their foes quite as often as they were victorious over them. There can be no doubt that the limits of the Chôla and Chêra kingdoms were constantly being enlarged and reduced, according as those kingdoms were administered by more or less able rulers ; and that the limits of the Pândya kingdom depended always upon the strength or weakness of her neighbours for the time being. For this reason I think that no great weight should be attached to those poetical descriptions of the boundaries of early southern kingdoms, which are so often quoted and discussed. They were of course composed, each of them with reference to the political situation of the country at the time when the composer wrote : and, if correct then, very possibly became quite incorrect in the course of one or two years.

It will be observed that linga worship is impliedly spoken of in the Purâna as being antecedent to the settlement of Brâhmans in the Pândya country. The first Pândya is said to have discovered the shrine enclosing the linga built by the divine artificer Visvakarma, and then to have sent for Brâhmans from Kâsi to celebrate the worship of Siva in a proper manner ; and it seems to follow from this that there were no Brâhmans at that time settled in the country and available for the king's purpose. A strong argument might probably be drawn from this circumstance in favor of the position, that linga worship was one of the many forms of idolatry prevalent amongst the aborigines of South India, the practice of which the Brâhmans at first acquiesced in and eventually adopted. Mr. Pope in his edition of the Abbé Dubois' work (see the note page 307, 2nd edition) says that in South India numberless legends relating to devout worshippers of the linga are current : that some of them are curious, and they are exclusively of southern origin. And Wilson states in his introduction to the catalogue that tradition uniformly points to an extension of Hindûism and civilization from the extreme south of the Peninsula. Again the Greek historians, if I am not mistaken, do not speak of the linga when describing the Brâhmans, Gymnosophists and others, although they would naturally have been struck by its external resemblance to the Phallus worship, had they come in contact



with it. Is it not possible therefore that linga worship originated in the Madura country, slowly worked its way northwards, and when checked by the Shapana or Jaina sect turned aside and extended itself along the western parts of India, and finally more or less over the whole ?

The second Pândya is said to have married the daughter of Shûra Sêna Râja of the Chôla kingdom. This name or rather title does not appear in any of the lists of the Chôla kings which I have come across.

From the 5th story we may gather that no Salic law was known to the early Pândyas. The daughter of the second king succeeded to the throne in default of sons, and appears to have been a warlike and powerful princess. One would like to know who was the illustrious stranger whom she married. Mr. Taylor has argued in support of the old legend to the effect that it was the renowned Arjuna himself: but I do not see that he has made out his case. And Wilson appears to have completely cut down the evidence ordinarily adduced to prove the early prevalence of this legend, by showing that in several unimpeachable Samskrit copies of the Mahâ B'hârata no mention is made of Arjuna having married a Pândya princess or of the name Malaya D'hwaja.

The extraordinary story of the amazon Thatâthakei having three breasts and losing the middle one on seeing her future husband is told in the Râjâvali (Upham volume 2, page 172) of the female demon Cawany. And curiously enough it is there stated that the god Isewerea, whom I take to be Ishwara or Siva, had informed Cawany that she should lose the superfluous breast when she first saw her future husband: and that king Wijeya (the king of page 47 ante,) married her, and afterwards married a Pândya princess. It would certainly seem as though there were here an imperfect and unintelligible reference to the legend told in our Purâna. Can it be possible that the king called Wijeya went across from Ceylon to Mad'hurâ; married the queen; lived with her some time; and then returned to Ceylon leaving her behind him? Perhaps other MSS. may throw more light than we now have to guide us upon the early relations of Mad'hurâ and Ceylon.

The son of Thatâthakei, Ugra, appears to have been one of the greatest of his race. Tradition says he brought Vellâlans into the country. He too married a Chôla princess, the daughter of Sôma



Shâk'hara, "of the race of the sun," who reigned in Kânchipura. I cannot find this title in any of the Chôla lists.

From the 14th story it appears that there was at this time a Chêra king, and that he, Ugra, and the Chôla king were on good terms, as they all went together to seek assistance from the sage Agastya. It also appears that even in these early times private individuals were possessed of whole villages.

In the 22nd story the Shapana, or as they are sometimes called Kshamana or Samana heretics, are said to have converted the Chôla king, and to have marched against Mad'hurâ under his guidance. The professors of this faith, I am informed, were the predecessors of the Jains, and their religion was but little different from that now known as the Jaina. The Sanskrit name *Shapana* or *Kshamana* or *Kshapana* was necessarily softened in Tamil into *Saman*: and it was possibly this corruption which gave rise to the terms *Sarmanai*, *Semnoi*, *Samanœi*, *Shaman*, &c., used by Megasthenes and other ancient writers. I have been assured that the word *Shapana* is in no way connected with *Sraman*, as some have supposed. And I have also been assured that these heretics had no connection whatever with the Baûdd'hists; that their god was named Ar'han; and that they never by any chance touched flesh food, as the Baûdd'hists will when they feel weak and ailing. My informant is the present Abbot of the Saiva monastery, of which Gnyânasamband'ha Mûrti, of whom we have already heard as the destroyer of the Shapanas, is said to have been the founder: and his statements on this point are therefore entitled to a certain amount of weight, as at the least he is the depositary of the traditions and legends of his sect, which sect was directly opposed to and eventually triumphed over the Shapana. With regard to the much disputed origin of the term *Shapana* or *Saman*, it is observable that the god of Adam's peak was named *Saman*, and is often spoken of in the Ceylon chronicles as being a Deity of some importance. Possibly therefore he may have given his name to a sect.

In the reign of Anantaguna, the tenth Pândya, the Shapana heretics again invaded Mad'hurâ on two occasions: but were each time defeated and compelled to retire. And a still more remarkable incident, if the Purâna can be believed, was the coming to Mad'hurâ of the great Râma. If the account be true, Râma must have lived about the end of the fifth, or beginning of the fourth century B. C., supposing the first Pândya to have lived at the beginning of the sixth.



Probably however the story is a mere interpolation, extracted from some other Purâna. But see post, page 112.

In the next reign the country was threatened with an invasion by the Chêdi king of a caste of hunters. It does not clearly appear who this potentate was. Wilson merely says "The eighth king of Madura, "Anantaguna, also, is said to have been assailed by the *Kiratas*, "foresters of *Chedi* or according to the Tamil version of the Halasya, "the barbarous tribes of Marava. Marava however was part of the "Pandyan kingdom from the first, and the assailants were probably "from some other country or from the mountainous regions along the "western ghauts." It appears from Mr. Dowson's paper on the Chêra country alluded to before, that his 32nd Chôla king married one Chitrâ the daughter of Chati Raya: and probably that princess was a descendant of the Chêdi Râja of our Purâna. The syllable "chê" is constantly spelt "cha," and "ti" and "di" are constantly confounded. The Chêdi country has been identified with Chandail in Berar. The blunder alluded to by Wilson of confounding the Chêdi Râja with the king of the Maravas must have arisen from some Tamil author wildly fancying that Chêdi Râja meant the same as Sêthu-pati, the title borne by the chief of the Maravas. Or perhaps he wished to flatter the Sêthu-pati of his time by pretending that his ancestor was spoken of in the Purâna.

The 31st story shows that the Brâhmans of Kulab'hûshana's time were so poor, that they were compelled to earn their living by working with their hands. This seems strange. One would have supposed, judging from the accounts of historians, that in old times all the wealth of the country was placed at the disposal of the Brâhmans; that if they wanted anything they had only to ask for it.

The 33rd story shows that Kulab'hûshana was on bad terms with the Chôla of Kânachipura: but eventually became reconciled to him.

The 35th story describes in very equivocal terms a Pândya victory over the Chôla. The Pândya may have been the victor in one battle: but from the end of the story it would certainly seem as though the Chôla must have ultimately defeated his enemy.

During the next five reigns, it is said that no event of any importance occurred, that is of importance to the Pagoda. And then comes the reign of the 18th Pândya. This king was very religious, and careless in all temporal matters: and accordingly the Chôla king attacked and routed him. However the god interfered in his behalf and saved him from destruction.



The 19th king Varaguna is said to have been a very religious man, and to have gained some slight advantage over the Chôla by help of the god. Wilson says of him that he "holds a more prominent place in *Chola* history than in that of Madura, a blank in the former being ascribed to his marriage with the princess of *Chola*, and the consequent union of the two sovereignties. This must have occurred after the Christian era, as we have the capital of the *Chola* kings distinguished by Ptolemy from that of the *Pandyan*, and the *Chola* kings do seem to have merged into the *Pandyan* for some considerable time in the first ages of Christianity." This remark may be very just: but it is to be regretted that no authority is quoted for the assertions that Varaguna married a Chôla princess, and the two kingdoms became one, and remained united for several ages. Not a word is said about all this in our Purâna: and if the union of the two kingdoms had really taken place, one would certainly have expected to find the author of the Purâna mentioning its occurrence in the most prominent manner, and ascribing all kinds of honor and glory to Varaguna. The observation about the blank in the Chôla history being accounted for by this union cuts both ways, as it happens; for after Varaguna's time there is a blank in the Pândya history extending over no less than twenty-five reigns! It is therefore just as reasonable to suppose that the Pândya kingdom was for several centuries merged in the Chôla kingdom, as that the latter was merged in the former.

From the 49th story it appears that in the reign of the 45th king Kîrti Vib'hûshana was the general deluge: and the whole world was destroyed with the exception of a few remarkable places in and near Mad'hurâ. I shall not attempt to explain away this frightful anachronism. Wilson appears to think that all that was intended by the writer was to show that a change of dynasty took place: but the wording of the Purâna would seem to be opposed to this interpretation.

The first king after the deluge was Vamsha Shêk'hara. He re-built the city, which is described as having bounds so extensive, that it must have been almost as large as London now is. Possibly all that is meant is, that the district round the capital was surrounded for the purposes of defence by a wall some thirty or forty miles in length, with gates at certain important places. The Chôla king Vikrama attacked the Pândya, but was signally defeated. The name Vikrama appears in one of the lists of Chôla kings given by Mr. Dowson,



namely No. 3, and it seems that he is said to have died after a long reign in 827 A.D. Possibly this was the king meant by the writer of the Purâna. The name also occurs in one of Mr. Taylor's lists. Another and most remarkable incident in the reign of the 46th Pândya was the establishment of the Mad'hurâ college of poets.

The 56th story would seem to point to the tradition that the Pariah poet Tiruvalluvan came to Mad'hurâ, and after a great struggle gained admission into the college in spite of the opposition of the Brâhmins.

The 57th story seems to show that at the time to which it refers there was a king of fishermen ruling on the coast in a town of some importance. He was probably a Parava. See the notice of this caste in the ethnological portion.

The 61st story tells us about the great Mânikya Vâchaka, and his victory over the Baûdd'has, heretics who came to Chidambara from a certain island, which we may perhaps assume was Ceylon. There is nothing to show who these heretics were: but there is probably every reason to suppose that they were worshippers of Budd'ha. They were, it is said, exterminated by crushing in oil-presses. As I have remarked before, it is believed that the Baûdd'has had nothing in common with the Shapana sect or Jains. And it does not appear from the Purâna that they ever came as far south as Mad'hurâ: but Chidambara was the scene of their defeat. Wilson is inclined to place Mânikya Vâchaka's date in the seventh century: but he quotes no authorities, and it is impossible to guess why he places it in that particular period. The Vâdûr St'hala purâna, abstracted in page 135 of the Catalogue Raisonné, states that Mânikya Vâchaka was born in Vâdûr in the Pândya country, and was early distinguished for ability and conduct, and became a great proficient in the *Tatwa* system of philosophy; and gives his history much in the same way as our Purâna gives it, but with two important variations. In the first place it seems to show that the great controversialist either introduced the Saiva faith, as pointed out by Mr. Taylor, into the southern countries of the Peninsula, or else reformed the existing Saiva religion. And secondly it makes out the king of Ceylon to have been converted by him from Buddhism, and declares that Mânikya Vâchaka preached in Ceylon. These last circumstances seem to be of considerable importance, seeing that they are apparently corroborated by the following passage in the Râja Ratnâcari (Upham, volume ii, page 8,) "when Budhu had been dead 1362 years, in the "year of Christ 819, a king called Matwalessen Rajah was made



"monarch of Ceylon, and in this king's time a man in the habit of a  
 "priest came from Jambu-dwipa to Ceylon, and took up his abode in  
 "the garden of the king. This king's character answered his name  
 "for he was an ill-timed worthless person, and the abovenamed  
 "priest turned him away from the religion of Budhu; and thus as a  
 "grass-hopper taking the light of a lamp to be gold, springs into the  
 "flame, so this king, by his works, rejected what was good and chose  
 "what was evil, and choosing what was evil rejected what was good,  
 "for he rejected and laid aside the precepts taught by the books and  
 "sermons of Budhu, and adopted the maxims of other systems of  
 "religion, yielded his country to the Malabars, and went to live in  
 "the city called Polonnaro, where he died." If Mânikya Vâchaka  
 went to Ceylon and preached there and converted the king of Ceylon,  
 I think there is every probability that he was the man who "in the  
 habit of a priest came from Jambu-dwipa," of the Râja Ratnâcari.  
 And if so, his date may be almost said to be known for certain to  
 be 819 A. D.

After the extinction of the Baûdd'has nothing is recorded until the  
 reign of the 73d and last of the Pândyas, in which occurred the final  
 overthrow, at least in the Pândya kingdom, of the great Shapana or  
 Jaina heresy. Kubja, or the hunchback Pândya, called in Tamil  
 Kûn Pândya, appears to have waged war against the Chôla, and  
 after completely vanquishing him to have restored to him his king-  
 dom, and married his daughter. Sometime afterwards, it is said, the  
 Pândya was perverted to the Shapana faith; and was brought back  
 to the true faith only by the miraculous cure of his disease and  
 removal of his deformity by the champion of the Saiva religion, the  
 great Gnyânasamband'ha Mûrti.

As the ancient history of the Pândya kingdom—such as it is—  
 ends abruptly with the overthrow of the Shapana or Jaina heretics,  
 and as the date of that important event is involved in almost hope-  
 less obscurity, it is exceedingly desirable that every circumstance  
 calculated to throw light upon it should be made public: and I trust  
 therefore that my humble efforts will not be pronounced uncalled-  
 for and unnecessary, if I endeavour to the best of my ability to do  
 something towards the determination of this knotty question.

That great authority, Wilson, says in the introduction to his  
 Descriptive Catalogue, see page lxvii, "in the *Pandyan* kingdom the  
 "*Jains* rose upon the downfall of the *Bauddhas*, and were sup-  
 "pressed in the reign of *Kuna Pandya*, which could not have



“occurred much earlier than the ninth or tenth century, or might have been as late as the eleventh.”

Farther on, page lxxix, he says, “*Kuna Pandya*.....is placed by some accounts in the Saka year 950 or A. D. 1028, and this agrees tolerably well with the date deduced for him from that of the translation of the *Halasya Mahatmya*.” Now, as Mr. Taylor observes in his “Oriental MSS.,” no authorities are quoted by Wilson. And one would much like to know the great Professor’s reason for placing “Kuna Pandya” in the eleventh century: particularly as Mr. Taylor disbelieves altogether the correctness of this late date, and for reasons too long to be given here, (see O.H. MSS., volume ii;) and which certainly do not appear to be conclusive, supposes that “Kuna Pândya” reigned about 1320 B. C !

Whether any attempts have been made lately in Europe to fix this important date, I have been unable to discover: and I must content myself with setting out before the reader the evidence bearing on it obtainable in Madura.

The most remarkable, and if only it could be depended upon, the most conclusive evidence of the date, is that afforded by the fact of the existence in Madura at the present moment of a Saiva *Math* or monastery, which, it is alleged, was founded by the great Gnyâna-samband’ha himself, and is presided over by the 277th hereditary manâger. If this allegation were only true, then allowing eighteen years for each manager, we should have to assign to Sundara Pândya a date of a very respectable antiquity, namely B. C. 3119. I regret however being constrained to admit, that it is impossible to believe that the present worthy manager of this institution is the 277th. Every effort was made to induce him to disclose the facts, which led him to believe in the extraordinary antiquity claimed for his *math*; but no proofs were adduced by him, though confidently and repeatedly promised; and there is no reason to suppose that any proofs are in fact in his possession or within his knowledge.

Although, however, I was disappointed so often in this matter, I have to thank the manager of the *math* for kindly pointing out to me the existence, and furnishing me with a copy of a remarkable inscription of the time of Sundara Pândya, which will no doubt enable experts to fix the required date with tolerable precision. The inscription is cut into the solid rock which forms the side of an old ruined Saiva Church, known as “Sundara Pândya’s Church,” situated



a little to the south of Thirupparankunram, near Madura. The character is modern Tamil, with Grant'ha letters interspersed; and the metre the *akkaval*. The following is a translation of it, as correct as I am able to give:—

### PROSPERITY!

SUNDARA PANDYA DEVAR,

Who bears on his shoulders Lakshmi, the goddess of wealth, that dwells in the beautiful lotus flower: and Bhûmi Dêvi, the goddess of the earth.

Who enjoys the auspices of Saraswati, that dwells in the tongue of Bramha: and of Viralakshmi, the goddess of strength.

Who terrified the flags bearing respectively the emblems of the furious tiger and the strong bow; and compelled them to hide themselves.

Who caused the high flag representing the fish to play in the golden mountain.

Who made the virtues to flourish in the wide sea-girt world.

Who swayed the sceptre everywhere, avoiding sins, in such wise that the whole world lived in happiness under his one umbrella; that the three forms of Tamil proper to Prose, Poetry, and the Drama continued to flourish; that the four Vêdas the Ruk, Yajuhu, Sâma, and At'harvana continued to be taught orally; that the five kinds of sacrifices, Bramha, Daiva, B'hûta, Pitru, and Mânusha were offered according to rule; that the principles of the six sub-divisions of the Saiva faith the B'hâirava, Vâma, Kâlamuk'ha, Mahâvrata, Pâshupata, and Saiva were well observed; that songs were sung according to the acknowledged seven notes or modulations of the voice; that his commands were obeyed in all the eight directions of the world; that the kings of Konkana, Kalinga, Kôsala, Mâlava, Singala, Trilinga, Chîna, G'hûrjara, Villava, Magad'ha, Vikkala, Sembya, Pallava, and other countries came in ~~h~~ Alry, one before the other, with their fixed tributes, and begged that he might restore to them their kingdoms.

Who wore the large breast-plate given by Indra.

Who was crowned with a crown set with gems.

Who enforced the laws of Manu, created by Brama that dwells in the lotus flower.

Who wore on his head the crown set with gems.



Who destroyed the power of the tiger-flag in the country surrounded by the Kâvêri river; and made the fish-flag of the Pândya kingdom, which is bounded by Cape Kumâri, to fly everywhere; and marched and spread abroad his forces, furnished with high-couraged horses and elephants; set Tanjore and Uriûr on fire; spoiled the clear water of the tanks and rivers in order to deprive the *Karunkuvalei* and *Utpalam* flowers of their beauty; demolished the houses, high walls, towers, dancing halls, storied houses and palaces; made the tears of the wives of refractory kings flow like a river; and caused the sites of the buildings to be ploughed with asses and sown with cowries.

Who in his anger drove the Chôla from his dominions into a barren place; took away his crown of pure gold, and gave it to a poet who sang in praise of him; anointed himself king with all proper ceremonies in the *Mantapam*, which was the Chôla's anointing hall at Âyirattali surrounded with golden walls, the top of which reached the orbit of the sun of indescribable splendor; extended his fame everywhere, mounted on a brave must elephant, accustomed to cut off the heads of famous hostile kings, and return home; made himself the sole possessor of the sea-girt world; went with his weapons the sharp-edged *Chakra*, &c., to the fine *St'hala* in divine Chidambara, wherein resided Brâhmans of undoubted proficiency in the Vêdas; visited the fine and beautiful god Nâtêsha dancing in the *Kanaka Sab'hâ*, (hall of gold) in the presence of the goddess, and overjoyed at the sight prostrated himself at the god's feet which resemble the red lotus-flower and are invisible to Brahma that resides in the lotus, and to Vishnu decorated with the cool garland of *Tolesi* flowers; seated himself in a grand manner, like the Mountain Mêru, which is the anchor of the earth, in the hall decorated with bright gems, and resembling the golden city of Amarâvati, the hall surrounded by the tank which is full of lotus flowers inhabited by beetles which by their noise disturb the rest of the swans with the curved feathers; and there commanded kings wearing crowns and adorned with garlands of flowers to send for the Chôla, in order to give him as a gift the Chôla kingdom, which abounds with fields surrounded by plantations.

Who, when the Chôla, who had fled after being deprived of his kingdom and city, returned in confidence and presented to him his (the Chôla's) son, declaring (complimentarily) that his son bore the



title of Pândya, and prostrated himself before the Pândya's victorious throne, and humbly besought him; who then went and took hold of his hands, putting aside all anger, and pouring water on them presented the conquered territory to the son of the Chôla. Then the kings of all the countries of the world surrounded by the ocean which has great waves, paid their respects to the Pândya, the benefactor of all, and begged of him that this kingdom presented by him with his free will to the son of the Chôla, to whom had been joyfully (or out of compliment) given the Pândya's name, should thenceforward be known as "the kingdom once conquered by the Pândya."

Who then presented him with the Chôla kingdom, and with the *Srîmuk'ha* or order to use as his signature a seal representing a bright fish; entitling him "the king of the country which was before lost;" and giving him also the old capital city; and then gave him leave to depart. The kings of the northern countries, bearing bright and victorious spears, then prostrated themselves at the Pândya's feet with all alacrity.

Who wore the *Vîrag'hanta* (hero's bell) on his leg, seated himself on the throne supported by noble lions and adorned with bright gems; was fanned on either side with beautiful fans made of the hairs of white deer; and had in his company his Empress, Mangeik-k'arasi, who treated all her creatures as her own children, and at whose feet the queens of other countries, who never left the shoulders of their husbands possessed of proud elephants which roared like the ocean, and who wore fragrant garlands, and in their ears brilliant pendants, prostrated themselves and made obeisance.

Who is like Vishnu; who has in his breast, Lakshmi; who is the Emperor of the three worlds; who bears the title of MÂRAN; and

Who had the pleasure of giving as a gift the Chôla kingdom. (This monarch makes the following grant—that is to say—

Whereas, at the suggestion of the Âdisiva Brâhmans and the managers of the temple of Sundara Pandyêshwara Mudayar, (the idol) who was placed in the *Palliyarei* of the Mad'hurâ temple, situated to the east of Mâdakulam in the excellent *nâdu* of Mad'hurâ, by Pallippîda Malava Râyan, and was subsequently consecrated in the temple built on the south of Thirupparankunram by us, Srî Sundara Pândya Râja, the most beautiful and elegant of all beautiful men and one possessed of divine powers, the aforesaid Malava



Râyan has requested us to grant to the aforesaid Dêvast'hâna six *mahs* of land producing two crops per annum and six *mahs* of land producing one crop, in all, as measured by the rod, twelve *mahs* or  $\frac{1}{2}\frac{2}{5}$  of the fields called Kandolavan bounded on one side by a rock and a sluice, and situated in Pulimkunrûr otherwise known as Sundara Pândya Pura which lies east of the Vîra Nârâyana tank, with the privilege of cultivating and using and occupying the same rent-free from and after the eighth year (of our reign); and in addition the cess leviable for the support of blind men; the treasure-trove cess; that for the maintenance of ferry boats; together with the trees standing on the road leading to the said lands; as also the cess payable to the officer who watches the crops; and all kinds of taxes leviable on account of the expenses of the *Padikattalei* rice and other articles required for the performance of the Pûjei of the said Sundara Pândyês'hwara Mudayar and for the repairs of the same:—Now we do grant on this 325th day of the seventh year (of our reign) to the aforesaid Dêvast'hâna six *mahs* of land, &c., &c., &c. (The grant is set forth in the same terms as those given above.)

And we do further direct, that you do receive a deed bearing the attestation of witnesses and that of the engrosser and (the mark of) our order, and do continue to maintain the charities (under the heads) of *Tiruppani* (repairs) and *Padikattalei* (o                      expenditure), and that inscriptions be made on stone and on                      for the continuance of this our grant so long as the sun and                      shall endure.

(After this come the attestations of nine witnesses, whose names and titles are so curious that I cannot refrain from giving them at full length. As no native to whom I have shown them can make any thing of them, I must be excused if I blunder sadly in attempting to show their exact equivalents in English.)

1. Attested by Kula Shêk'hara Mâd'hava Râyan, Vichchiyûrân; (born in or perhaps I should more correctly say resident in the village of Vichchi, which is situated in) the western *Kûttu* (? small group of Vellâla villages arranged for revenue purposes. Tamils do not know the revenue meaning of the word.) of the Milalei *Kûttam*, (? a larger group than a *Kûttu*. See under the head of Vellâlans in the Ethnological portion ante.) (bearing the title of) Mummudi, Udeiyân (Chief seised of lands in the villages of) Chôlanallûr (and) Vettanûr, (alos) Udeiyân (Chief known by the title of) Vengâdu Thêvar Thirkukârônâam.



2. Adhika MĀn, inhabitant of Vilattūr in the Milalei *Kūttam* Udeiyān (in or of) the victorious Chōlanallūr (and) Vilattūr, (also) Udeiyān (known by the title of) Sṛī Vallavan Sundarattōl.

3. Nilakangareiyān, alias Monṇēppirān Alagapperumāl, Udeiyān (in or of) Pullūrkudi (and) Ponmathi (of the) Nadavira *Kūttu* of the Milalei *Kūttam*.

4. Vijaya Rāyan, Udeiyān (in or of) Tachchanūr, Mandeiyālwān, and Kathirāyiram, (villages in the) Kilavambada *Nādu* (country).

5. Sētāppallava Rāyan, alias Ponnān Upakāri, Udeiyān (in or of) Puttūr in the Parapparalei *Nādu*, (apparently attached or subordinate to) the excellent *Nādu* of Mad'hurā.

6. Kōla Rājan, Udeiyān (in or of) Arayan, Ulkudi (or permanent ryot in the village of) Kāngei-Irakkei in the excellent *Nādu* of Mad'hurā.

7. Kuru Kulattareiyān, alias Sendu Uyya Nindrāduvān, Udeiyān (in or of) Tadanganni (and) Chittūr in the Thirumalli *Nādu*.

8. Rāja Rāja Viluppareiyān, alias Kilavan Pallān Rāman (or ? Pallān Rāman, headman or senior) (of) Malangudi in the Kīlach-chambala *Nādu*.

9. Pallava Rāṇ alias Mantri (or ? minister) Rāman of great Manalūr in the Ar *Nādu*.

(The attestation of these nine chiefs and great men appears to have been insufficient for the purposes of security; and another writing follows to the effect that)

Whereas Malava Rāyan has requested us to grant to the Ādi Siva Brāhmans and St'hānāpatis of the Sundara Pāndyēshwara Mudayar Church which was consecrated by us, Rāma Narab'hūshana Dēvar, Emperor of the three worlds, and who never esteemed other kings, &c., &c.

(The terms of the grant are then set out as before, but the date of the new and confirmatory grant is the eighth year of the grantor's reign. The new grant is attested by three witnesses, namely:—)

1. Tennavatheyiān, Sundarattōlan Muttan, Ulkudi (old established or permanent ryot) (of the village of) Kāngei-Irakkei in the excellent *Nādu* of Mad'hurā. On the 70th day of the eighth year.

2. Uttama Pāndya Viluppareiyān, Udeiyān (in or of) Kothumalūr.



3. (The name, &c., are the same as in attestation No. 9 of the first grant : they were perhaps those of an official.)

(After the second or confirmatory grant comes a third grant set forth in precisely the same terms and giving precisely the same lands, &c., and again in the eighth year, attested by more than fifteen witnesses, whose names and titles as far as I can make them out are as follows, viz :—)

1. Vijaya Râyan, alias Thiruvakku Têvan, Udeiyân (in or of) Ponapatti in the western *Kûttu* of the Milalei *Kûttam* in the Varitineikkala-Nâyakkan *Puravu* (? a revenue term meaning a large territorial division containing several *Kûttams*. Further on it will appear as though a *Puravu* was even larger than a *Mandalam* or country.)

2. Tulampadareiyân.

3. Srî Râma Sundara Pândya Kâduvetti, Arulâlan, (? title, meaning gracious,) Udeiyân (in or of) Vappâdi Pâttu (and) Maludikumâra Chirunambûr in the Milalei *Kûttam*.

4. Tondayan.

5. Kôla Râyan.

6. Kâlanga Râjan.

7. Gângêya Râjan.

8. Chetta Râyan, alias Naravalagan, Udeiyân (in or of) Tachchananamali (in the) Naduvira *Kûttu* in the Milalei *Kûttam* in the Varitineikkala-Nâyakkan *Puravu*, (and) Udeiyân (in or of) Eruvu.

9. Virâta Râyan.

10. Vatta Râjan.

11. Sundara Pândya Tattipan Mân.

12. Muniyada Râyan.

13. Uttamaya Viluppareiyân, alias Akitti (?) Visâleiya Nallûrâriya Mâlalagan (of) Kîlavattûr in the Karungudi *Nâdu* in the Varitineikkala-Nâyakkan *Puravu*.

14. Pattiyata Râyan, alias Adichcha Têvan Aliyankeiyân, '(in or of) Isanûr in the excellent *Nâdu* of Râjêndra Chôla in the Chôla *Mandalam* (country) (in the) Varitineikkala-Nâyakkan *Puravu* (? was the victorious Chôla *Mandalam* at this time a mere province of the Pândya kingdom ; and did it with other countries from a *Puravu* administered by a Pândya general.)



15. Villava Rāyan, alias Sôma Tēvan Alagiya Maneivēlan (of) Alāga Pāndya Nallūr, Udeiyan (in or of) Uttu Ayaku (?) in the Visāleicchambilei *Nādu* in Varitineikkala-Nāyakkan *Puravu*.

(A few more signatures, &c., follow, but they are illegible.)

Assuming that this elaborately composed inscription is not a forgery, and I know of no possible reason for supposing it to be such, it cannot but be useful to orientalists in determining Sundara Pāndya Dēvar's date. It would be out of place in a work like this to examine it critically, and to prove by intrinsic evidence that it must be a comparatively modern document: but at all events a few of the more remarkable facts set forth in it may be briefly noticed.

In the first place then the victory over the Chôla king commemorated by the inscription would seem to have been very decisive and complete, one quite different from the mere temporary successes which sometimes resulted from Pāndya invasions of the Chôla, and Chôla invasions of the Pāndya country. And the inscription is strongly corroborated on this point by our Purāna.

2. The name or title "Pāndya" and the right to use the fish-seal of Mad'hurâ are said to have been conferred on the son of the conquered Chôla king.

3. Mention is made of the famous "*Kanaka Sab'hâ*" or golden hall at Chidambara.

4. The Pāndya is said to have burnt Tanjore and Uriyûr: whilst nothing is said about Kānchipura.

5. No mention is made of the Chêra country.

6. The grantor's wife was Mangeikk'arasi.

7. A *nādu* in the Chôla *mandalam* is called the Rājendra Chôla *nādu*.

These facts seem to show almost conclusively, that Sundara Pāndya must have flourished at a period later at all events than the ninth century of our era.

It may be gathered from Mr. Dowson's paper on the Chêra kingdom (see R. A. S. Journal, Vol. viii, p. 7), and also from Mr. Taylor's paper in the Madras Journal of Literature and Science, Vol. xiv, that the *Kanaka Sab'hâ* was built by Vîra Chôla Râya, the 30th of the kings mentioned in the MS. translated in those papers, about the middle of the tenth century: and assuming that this was so, if Sun-



dara Pândya visited the *Kanaka Sab'hā* as stated in the inscription, he must have lived at a later time than A.D. 950.

We are also told in Mr. Dowson's paper that Ari Vari Deva, the 34th and last of the Chôla kings of his MS., certainly died in the year A.D. 1058; that in the early part of his reign he, or rather his brother for him, conquered the Pândya kingdom; that subsequently through the intercession of the Pândya's mother, who was his near relative, he restored the Pândya kingdom to the conquered king, and lived in great amity with him; so great, indeed, that one Amra B'hujânga, the Pândya's general, came to the Chôla Râja, and being placed in command of his armies conquered the Kalinga and many other countries, some of which lay as far north as the river Narmada. And we are further informed that this was the Chôla king described in one of Mr. Walter Elliot's famous Châlûkya inscriptions dated A.D. 1071, (see R. A. S. Journal, Vol. iv, p. 14) as the outcast "PANDI CHOL, who had forsaken his usual course, and left off practising the virtue of his race," having invaded the Châlûkya dominions, and destroyed many Jaina temples; and was defeated and killed by the Châlûkya forces. Very possibly too this Pandi Chol was the "Sundara Pandya Sholun" who stands No. 21 in Mr. Dowson's list No. 4.

Now I can see no great difficulty in the way of supposing that the story told in the remarkably valuable MS. from which Mr. Dowson gathered these facts was a misrepresentation, not extraordinarily gross, of the actual facts of Sundara Pândya's connection with the last Chôla Râja mentioned in the MS. abovementioned: and that the very unusual circumstances of the conquered Chôla's son receiving the title of "Pândya" is pretty correctly described in the inscription of Sundara Pândya's time above translated. The Purâna tells us that the Pândya's wife was a Chôla princess known by the title of Vanitêshwari (the Samskrit equivalent of the Tamil Mangeikk'arasi, or queen of women, given in the inscription:) and that it was mainly through her instrumentality that he was induced to adopt the true Saiva faith in lieu of the Shapana: and it may be, that this was the energetic Pândya lady whose patriotic exertions are alluded to in Mr. Dowson's MS. Then again as the Chôla kingdom appears to have been at this time, that is under the last kings of the MS., at the height of its power; to have swallowed up the Konga country; and annexed more or less completely several northern countries, the grand and boastful language of the inscrip-



lion becomes readily intelligible on the supposition, that Sundara Pândya conquered the Chôla country; gave back the conquered territory to the son of the 34th king, together with the title of "Pândya;" and afterwards having placed his general Amra B'hûjânga in command of the united armies of the Pândya Chôla and Chêra countries, invaded with considerable success many portions of the Peninsula, and continued to show the liveliness of his zeal for his religion by causing to be destroyed a number of Shapana or Jaina churches.

Supposing then that the leading events of Sundara Pândya's reign corresponded to some extent with those just suggested, his approximate date should be readily ascertainable. Ari Vari Dêva is stated in the MS. to have made a grant in A. D. 1004: and Mr. Dowson confidently places the death of the king whom he takes to be the last Chôla, the outcast "Pândi Chol," in the year A. D. 1058, relying on the Châlûkya inscriptions; and it seems from what Mr. Dowson says that according to Mr. Ellis' calculations that event cannot have happened much earlier or much later.

The next fact to be considered is the statement of Wilson to the effect that Mangeikk'arasi, the wife of Kûn Pândya, is called in an account of the *Gôpura* of the Baûdd'ha temple at Pudcovailly (see R. A. S. J., vol. iii, p. 219, note 2) the daughter of Karikâla Chôla. According to some of the McKenzie MSS. abstracted in Mr. Taylor's Catalogue Raisonné, Karikâla was the last of the ancient Chôla dynasty: and from one if not more of them—see page 478—it appears clearly that Karikâla was set upon the throne by a Pândya king, who was at the time master of the Chôla kingdom. It is therefore not impossible that Karikâla was the title commonly borne by the son of Ari Vari Dêva: and Kûn Pândya's wife may have been Ari Vari Dêva's grand-daughter as well as Karikâla's daughter.

Whether this was so or not, the statement as to Mangeikk'arasi's parentage is of the greatest importance: and every effort should be made to ascertain the date of Karikâla Chôla in order that through it we may arrive at that of Kûn Pândya.

Wilson informs us (see his introduction to his catalogue, p. lxii, and the catalogue, p. 182) that various traditional accounts make Râmânûja Âchârya, the great Vaishnava preacher, flee from the Chôla country because persecuted by Karikâla: and if this be true, there should be no difficulty in fixing Karikâla's date. Râmânûja fled to the Court of the Hoisala king Peddata, who was converted by him, and thereupon



assumed the well-known title of Vishnu Vardd'hana : and the dates of grants of this king so entitled, appear to range between the years 1099 and 1138 A. D. See for this Mr. Taylor's translation of the Konga-dêsa-râjâkkal, Madras Journal of C. and S., vol. xiv, p. 20 ; and compare with it what Mr. Walter Elliot says of Vishnu Vardd'hana, R. A. S. Journal, vol. iv, p. 24. Then again the valuable MS. abstracted at p. 34 of the Catalogue Raisonné says (see p. 38) that Sundara Pândya Dêvar lived A. D. 1050, and that Râmânûja lived in the time of the son of that Pândya, in 1117 A. D. Supposing therefore that Râmânûja was persecuted by Karikâla, and that Mangeikk'arasi was the daughter of the latter as alleged, it is very possible that Kûn Pândya reigned in the latter half of the eleventh century. And if Karikâla was also called Pândya Chôla, and was the king defeated by the Châlûkya as recorded in the inscription of 1078, he could not have been killed in battle as Mr. Dowson supposes ; but he must have enjoyed a long reign of perhaps fifty-five years, as stated in the MS. If he lived to the age of 80 or 90, it is quite possible that Kûn Pândya married his daughter in about the year 1060, and Râmânûja was persecuted by him shortly before 1098.

Next we must notice the allegation that Sundara Pândya burnt Tanjore and Uriyûr. It would appear from the Purâna that up to the time of the defeat of the Baûdd'has by Mânikya-Vâchaka the Chôla capital was Kânchipura. But no mention is made of this town in the inscription ; and it would therefore be reasonable to suppose that when the last Pândya conquered the Chôla country, either Uriyûr, which was undoubtedly a great city at one time, or Tanjore, or perhaps each of these two towns, had become a capital. Now, Mr. Taylor has shown that according to tradition Uriyûr was entirely destroyed by a shower of mud or sand, and the seat of power was then transferred to Kamb'hakônâma. And the MS. alluded to above, which tells us that Karikâla Chôla was placed on the throne by the Pândya, also tells us that he was installed at Kamb'hakônâma, and afterwards resided there. Taking these facts together, we may perhaps infer that the story of the shower of mud alludes metaphorically to the destruction of the capital city of Uriyûr by the Pândya ; and that the immediate consequence of this act was the elevation of the city of Kamb'hakônâma into a capital by Karikôla Chôla. The fact that Tanjore appears from the MS. relied upon by Mr. Dowson to have continued to be the capital, or at least one of the capitals of the



the Chôla country during the whole period of Chôla history touched upon by the MS. is a fact of considerable importance : inasmuch as it goes to show that, if the destruction of Tanjore and Uriyûr led to the rise of Kamb'hakônam, it must have taken place at all events later than A. D. 1004.

The negative fact that nothing is said of the Chêra kingdom, although no less than thirteen kings are enumerated as being tributary to the Pândya, goes to show that at the time when the inscription was made, the Chêra kingdom had in all probability ceased to have an independent existence. And those who agree with Mr. Dowson in thinking that *Konga désam* and *Chêra désam* are interchangeable terms, and that the Chêra kingdom was conquered and annexed by the Chôla about A. D. 900, will probably see in this omission of all allusion to the Chêra kingdom some evidence showing that the inscription was written later than A. D. 900. Nor will the fact that the inscription does speak of the Pândya scaring the bow-flag, the *insigne* of the Chêra country, operate very strongly in rebutting this presumption. For we can well understand the flag of a nation long surviving the downfall of that nation : and nothing can be more natural than that Chêra officers and soldiers fighting under Chôla generals should raise their own banners. However the inference is not worth very much in itself, seeing that Mr. Taylor has shown pretty conclusively that there is no sufficient reason for believing that the Konga was in fact the Chêra country ; and until we know for certain that it was, we must of course assume that it was not. Ordinarily a country is not known by two distinct names.

There now remains but one more point requiring notice, as appearing from the inscription : namely the description of a *nâdu* in the Chôla country as the " Râjêndra Chôla excellent *nâdu*. If, as seems likely, the title Râjêndra was given by or in memory of the mysterious Chôla king Râjêndra to whom the poet Kamban dedicated his work in 886 A. D., then of course the inscription must have been written later, and probably was written considerably later than 886 A. D., and we have another piece of evidence going to show that Kûn Pândya lived in comparatively modern times. On the other hand, it would seem to be by no means improbable that Râjêndra was merely a title common to many Chôla kings, and it is quite possible that the title was given to a *nâdu* without reference to any particular king ; and if so, the occurrence of it here will not



help us. Possibly some light might be thrown on the matter by the discovery of the situation of the Râjendra Chôla Vala Nâdu. If it was outside and north of the Chôla *mandalam* proper, it might be presumed I think that it formed part of the conquests of Râjendra or Râjendra's father: and was named after Râjendra about the same time that the Tonda *mandalam* was made over to the illegitimate Adondei and received its new name.

Having said as much as the limited space at my disposal will permit touching the bearing of the Pândya inscription on the date of the last Pândya, I must now pass on to the consideration of the next piece of evidence. Before doing so, however, I should perhaps give a summary of the facts of which the existence is more or less clearly indicated by the wording of the inscription, and of other facts connected therewith. They are as follow, viz :—

1. Kubja, Kûn, or Sundara the last Pândya completely conquered a Chôla: who was probably Mr. Dowson's 34th king.

2. He burnt Tanjore and Uriyûr: and placed the son of the conquered Chôla on the throne, giving him the title of Pândya.

3. Many kings were tributary to him: his dominions were extensive.

4. He married Vânitêshwari or Mangeikk'arasi, the daughter of Karikâla Chôla, who persecuted Râmânuja Âchârya.

5. Karikâla Chôla was probably the son of the last Chôla of Mr. Dowson's MS.

6. After the burning of Tanjore and Uriyûr Kamb'hakônâam became the Chôla capital.

And in these circumstances the presumption arises that the last Pândya reigned in the latter half of the eleventh century of our era.

The next piece of evidence to be considered is an inscription in modern Tamil, which exists on a stone in a certain piece of land north of the river Veigei and near Madura, known as the "Gôri-pâleiyam." It appears that this piece of land, with six villages attached to it has been enjoyed rent-free by the Mahometan community from time immemorial; and the inscription declares that it was originally granted by Kûn Pândya, and that the grant was confirmed by Vîrapa Nâyakkan, after personal enquiry into its validity. As the inscription is in many ways remarkable, the following rough translation of it is given.

### PROSPERITY !

The affairs of Kumâra Krishna Râyar (who was descended from,



or else was the successor of eight Râyars) (1) Râma Râyar, (2) Krishna Râyar, (3) Kumâra Narasinga Râyar, (4) Anaikonda Venkatapati Dêva Mahâ Râyar, (5) Vîra Narasinga Râyar, (6) B'hujabala Râyar, (7) Virupâkshi Râyar, (and 8 and last) Mallikârajuna Râyar Dêva Mahâ Râyar. Who was (or who were each of them) the Srîman Mahâ Mandalêshwara. The vanquisher of the army of Arya Râyar. The Lord over promise-breaking chieftains. The Lord of the three Râyars. The conqueror of lands seen and the holder of lands conquered. The King of the seven seas in the east, west, north and south. The *Âchârya* of the Kshatriyas in the Pândyamandala. The *Pratist'hâpanâchârya* of the Chôla kingdom. The *Chandaprachanda* of the Tondamandala. The king of kings. He who conquered the Ila (Ceylon,) Konga, and Kambala countries, and Vyâpânanâyakkapattana, (Jaffnapatam,) and hunted lions. The Râja Paramêshwara. The Râja Mârtânda. The Râja Gamb'hîra. The ruler doing his duty according to the ethics of kings. The terror of the people of the eight quarters. The wicked to the wicked. The enemy to the vicious. The destroyer of the kingdoms of the wicked. The destroyer of the Turk army of the Orukal Sultân who was the protector of the wicked. The humiliator of the Turks. The conqueror of the Ôttiya (Orissa ?) army. The humiliator of the Ôttiya people. (two or three titles cannot be made out.) The Nârâyana of darkness. The Nârâyana of his race. The Pratâpa of wisdom, of heroism, of victory, of gold, of renown. (a title here is unintelligible.) The man whose mind shakes not even when the mountain shakes. The most distinguished of the brave. The hero foremost in battle. The man who was a Vijaya with the bow; a Harischandra in veracity; a Karna in liberality; a Kubêra in wealth: a Manmad'ha in beauty. Who had in his breast the eight Lakshmîs, viz., Heroism, Success, Issue, Wealth, Liberality, Happiness, Prowess and Fame. Who held the eight quarters of the globe and the seven seas under his one umbrella.

The affairs (of this Lord) have been managed by us, Vîrappa Nâyakkar Ayyan Avargal, the son of Krishnappa Nâyakkan, who was the son of Visvanât'ha Nâyakkan.

And whereas during our said administration a dispute has arisen between the Râjas and the Malakas (Mahometans) respecting the six villages, Sorikkudi, Sökkikulam, Vîvîkkulam, Kannarêmbal, Sirudûr and Tiruppâdai, forming the gôripâleiyam, whereof the lands were priced at 14,000 gold pieces at the rate of one for each foot; were



marked with boundary stones bearing the emblem of a bow ; and granted and continued by a former ruler, Kûn Pândya, to the mosque of the Delhi Orukol Sultan in the said gôripâleiyam, situated north of the Veigei river in the Valanâdu of Mad'hurâ :—

Now we, the said Vîrappa Nâyakkan, having held a just enquiry in the course of which it has been proved that the Pândya fixed the price (of the villages) and sold them to the mosque, are therefore pleased on this day of auspicious Yôga and Karana, the 11th day of Tei of the year B'hava, 1495 of the Sâlivâhana Sakâbda, (A. D. 1573,) to continue the grant to the mosque: and the boundaries shall be as heretofore those marked by the stones set up by the Pândya. The whole income of these six villages shall be enjoyed uninterruptedly for ever, so long as the sun and moon shall endure. —

It will be observed that it is distinctly stated in this inscription that, previous to its being inscribed, the then ruler of the country made a personal enquiry into the truth of the allegation of the Mahometans (Malakas) to the effect that certain lands had been granted to them by Kûn Pândya in consideration of the sum of 14,000 pieces of gold: and that he decided in their favor and confirmed the grant. Here then we seem to have very satisfactory evidence of Kûn Pândya having been co-temporary with Mahometans, and having ruled the country at a period not very considerably earlier than the date of the inscription A. D. 1573. For whether the inscription be or be not what it purports to be, genuine evidence of a grant, it at all events shows that at the time when it was inscribed on a stone in a public place, it was not impossible in the judgment of those who set up the stone, or rather I should say it was thought by them to be exceedingly probable and natural, that Kûn Pândya should have made a grant of the nature of that commemorated; and that the ruler of the country in A. D. 1573 should have held an enquiry into the truth of the fact. But that the inscription is actually what it purports to be, I can see no sufficient ground for doubting. It is in the Tamil character, and must have been written by a Tamil of some education and acquirements, though in favor of Mahometans; it is found just where one would expect to find it in a public place; and it is regarded by the Mahometans of Madura as evidence of their title, though probably not one of them could read it. Moreover it is, so far as I can learn, a solitary instance of an inscription supporting a Mahometan claim to land in the Madura District. And lastly the lands



to which it alludes are at this present moment in the occupation of the Mahometans, and apparently no one has ever challenged their right.

Assuming then that the main facts set forth in the inscription are genuine, the difficult question arises, when was the land sold for the purpose of endowing this "Delhi Orukol Mosque?" "Orukol" is I presume an incorrect form of "Orukal" the original and correct mode of spelling the name "Warankal:" and according to Ferishta, whose authority is usually relied on, Arinkil (Warankal) was not finally annexed by the Mahometans until 1323 in the reign of Tughlick I. And according to Hindû accounts the first Mahometan invasion of Madura took place in 1324. If therefore the mosque was endowed in the manner described after Orukal became a Mahometan city, and gave a title to a Sultân, Kûn Pândya must have lived after 1323. And this, as will be seen hereafter, would seem to be simply impossible. The difficulty must be got over, I conceive; by supposing that Kûn Pândya sold the land to some Arab merchants, who were perhaps tempted to settle in Madûra by the prospect of carrying on a profitable trade with the cities on the Malabar Coast; and that a long time afterwards, probably in the 14th century, the mosquē was built and endowed with these lands. In the course of time Mahometan tradition would very naturally begin to connect Kûn Pândya's name with the endowment of the mosque: and when the enquiry was held in 1573, the anachronism of the inscription would be a trifling blunder which none could detect. On this supposition Kûn Pândya's date would probably have to be placed in the 11th or 12th century. It could hardly have been much earlier: and it certainly could not have been later.

These are the only two inscriptions throwing light on Kûn Pândya's date which I have been able to discover. Possibly others exist: but no one seems to know anything about them. I must therefore conclude this chapter with the observation that it appears from Caldwell's comparative grammar of the Drâvidian languages (see the note, pages 58 and 59) that that writer thought there were good grounds for supposing that Sundara Pândya lived in the 13th century, and was the "Sender Bandi" of Marco Polo; and he hoped to be able to publish at some future time the reasons which had led him to this conclusion. I am not aware that this expectation has been realized, and can only hope that Dr. Caldwell will be able to do so as he has promised.



## CHAPTER III.

*Anarchy after the death of Kûn Pândya.—A succession of illegitimate Pândyas reigned in different cities.—Wilson's remarks on this period.—The record office MS.—Another list of Pândyas.—Its accuracy probable.—The events of the two centuries or so after Kûn Pândya's death.—Mahometan invasion.—Subjugation by Ceylon.—Invasion of Kanara.—The Sender Bandi of Marco Polo.—Another Mahometan invasion.—The Mahometan invasion under Kafûr.—Atrocities committed by the invaders.—Mahometans driven out by the Vijayanagar General.—The Udeiyârs.—The Nâyakkan Generals.—The Vilivânâthi dynasty.—Other Nâyakkan Generals.—Râma Râja.—Anarchy.—Another Pândya.—His expulsion by the Râja of Tanjore.—The consequences thereof.*

IN the last chapter an attempt was made to assist in fixing the date of the last of the true Pândyas, or Pândya Dêvars as they are called in Madura. It now becomes necessary to endeavour to fill up the blank between the reign of Kûn Pândya and the first subsequent event of which the date is allowed to be tolerably certain, namely the taking and occupation of Madura by the Mahometans in the year 1324 A. D. Supposing that the last Pândya died somewhere about the end of the eleventh century, we shall have a period of from two centuries and a quarter to two centuries and a half to account for.

This period appears to have been one distinguished throughout by anarchy and confusion. Tradition says that Kûn Pândya died without legitimate issue, and that after his death a number of illegitimate descendants of the old race fought with one another for supremacy, and reigned, each as long as he could maintain himself in power, in



various cities and over larger or smaller tracts of country. And tradition is in perfect agreement on this point with such meagre historical notices as have come down to us.

The *Srî-tâla* book, which appears to have been written about sixty years ago, and was probably compiled from brief Tamil chronicles then in existence, states that the Pândya race became extinct upon the death of Kûn Pândya: and the children of concubines and of younger brothers who lived in former ages fought one against another, split up the country into factions, and got themselves crowned and ruled one in one place, another in another. But none of these families succeeded in getting possession of Madura, the capital, which consequently fell into decay. And further on it tells us, rather inconsistently, that up to 1324 A. D. the kings who ruled the Madura country were part of the time Pândyas, at other times foreigners.

From Mr. Taylor's supplementary MS., which must have been written about the same time, and in which that gentleman—I cannot conceive for what reason—seems to place extraordinary confidence, it appears that the “Abiral the Kartapyal and the Yavanal” ruled the country for some time, and were at last driven out by one Sôma Sundara Pândya; who managed to reign for twenty years, and was succeeded by his son Karpûra Sundara. He was succeeded by a long line of heirs, and 23 kings in all reigned nearly five centuries and a half until 1249 A. D. After them, it says, certain kings, of whom Parâkkrama Pândya was the last, reigned seventy-five years.

Certain very brief notices of remarkable events connected with the reigns of some of these kings accompany the list: and should not be disregarded. The sixth of them is said to have ruled over the Chôla and Chêra countries as well as his own: and his son released the Chôla king from captivity, placed him on the Chôla throne, and married his daughter. The ninth king abdicated; went on a pilgrimage to Benares; and died there. That is to say, I suppose, he lost his crown, and fled for his life. The eleventh king is represented to have been a great conqueror. The thirteenth carried on commerce by sea to a considerable extent: but after amassing much wealth, during a reign of only four years' duration, was drowned at sea in a great storm. He was succeeded by his son-in-law, Kundala, who “grieving much would not reign in Madura,” but removed his capital to a place a short distance from Madura. Did he reign in the Madura



country at all? His son was a conqueror, and hence his name Shatru B'hikara. The tenth king married the daughter of the Chôla king; and as the latter had no male issue to succeed him, the younger son of the Pândya succeeded to the Chôla throne. The 17th king conquered the Malayâla country. The 19th was killed in battle against the Chôla. But his grandson succeeded in conquering the Chôla of his time. The 22nd king was a close ally of the Chôla: and the two kings together conquered many countries.

Wilson says in his paper on the Pândya kingdom, see page 221, "According to one authority, which brings down the Pândya history "from the earliest to the latest periods, the first series of monarchs, "consisting of seventy-two princes, was followed by another of "twelve, with the last of whom Kodocola P. the succession of Pân- "dya princes of the ancient royal family ceased." And he states that the first of these twelve was Sôma Sundara: and that there is reason to suppose that Madura was burnt in the reign of the last of them. After a period of anarchy the throne was seized, according to the professor's authorities, by the illegitimate son of a Brâhman by a dancing girl of Kolam near Madura (*sic*), who assumed the title of Chandra Kula Dîpa, and was succeeded by fourteen princes, in the reign of the last of whom occurred the first Mahométan invasion. Wilson also notices the tradition which makes out a distinguished Tamil author, named indifferently Hari Vîra and Âdi Vîra Pândya, to have been a king of Madura, and gives him the date A. D. 1041: and identifying him with a king called Vîra, the professor connects his reign with the burning or subjugation of Madura by the Chôla Divya Râja, who, as stated in the last chapter, is stated to have been the brother of the last Chôla mentioned in the Kongadêsa-râjâkkal MS.

These notices of kings are sufficiently meagre and unsatisfactory: but they are by no means to be despised, and I find that they corroborate to an extent far greater than I could have hoped a short historical memorandum, which I found amongst the records of the Collector's Office, and which appears to have been prepared by some learned man many years ago for the information of the then Collector. From this it appears that after the reign of Kûn Pândya, illegitimate descendants of the Pândya family began to reign over different parts of the country, making different places their capitals. The following purports to be a list of them, forty-one in number:—



No.	Name.	Its meaning.
1.	Sôma Sundara Pândya.....	Beautiful as the moon.
2.	Karpûra Sundara P.....	Beautiful as camphor.
3.	Kumâra Shêk'hara P.....	Having Subramanya for a head-ornament.
4.	Kumâra Sundara P.....	Beautiful as Kumâra.
5.	Sundara Râja P.....	Beautiful king.
6.	Shanmuk'ha Râja P.....	The six-faced, i. e., the son of Siya.
7.	Mêru Sundara P.....	Beautiful as Mêru
8.	Indra Varma P.....	With Indra's armour.
9.	Chandra Kula Dîpa P....	Lamp of the lunar race.
10.	Mîna Kêtana P.....	Having the fish flag.
11.	Mîna D'hwaja P.....	Do. do.
12.	Makara D'hwaja P.....	Do. do.
13.	Mârtânda P.....	The sun.
14.	Kuvalayânanda P.....	Like the moon, or that pleases the whole world.
15.	Kundala P.....	Possessed of the <i>Kundala</i> , a sort of ear-ring.
16.	Shatru B'hîkara P.....	Scarer of foes.
17.	Shatru Samhâra P. ....	Destroyer of foes.
18.	Vîra Varma P.....	Possessed of hero's armour.
19.	Vîra Bâhu P.....	With hero's armour.
20.	Makuta Vardd'hana P....	Maintainer of the crown.
21.	Vajra Simha P.....	Adamantine lion.
22.	Varuna Kulôttunga P.....	Exalter of the race of Varuna.
23.	Âdi-Vîra-Râma P.....	First of hero's, Râma.
24.	Kula Vardd'hana P... ..	Exalter of the race.
25.	Sôma Shêk'hara P.....	Having the moon for his head-ornament.
26.	Sôma Sundara P.....	Beautiful as the moon.
27.	Râja Râja P.....	King of kings.
28.	Râja Kunjara P.....	Elephant amongst kings.
29.	Râja Shêk'hara P.....	Head-ornament for kings.
30.	Râja Varma P.....	Armour for kings.
31.	Râma Varma P.....	Having Râma as his armour.
32.	Varada Râja P.....	Rajah who gives boons.
33.	Kumâra Simha P.....	A young lion.



<i>No.</i>	<i>Name.</i>	<i>Its meaning.</i>
34.	Vîra Sêna P.....	With heroic army.
35.	Pratâpa Râja P.....	Valorous Rajah.
36.	Vîraguna P.....	Having heroic qualities.
37.	Kumâra Chandra P.....	Young moon.
38.	Varatunga P.....	Who has excellent gifts.
39.	Chandra Shêk'hara P.....	Having the moon as his head- ornament, <i>i. e.</i> , Siva.
40.	Sôma Shêk'hara P.....	Do. do.
41.	Parâkkrama P.....	Invincible.

The first thing observable in this list is the fact that it begins with the title Sôma Sundara, as do Wilson's list and that given in the Supplementary MS. of Mr. Taylor. In the next place it is noticeable that 23 of the first 24 titles and the last are clearly the same as the 23 and the last given in the Supplementary MS. And the two Pândyas noticed by Wilson namely Âdi Vîra and Chandra Kula Dîpa as being mentioned in legends, appear in it. Then Parâkkrama Pândya is stated in the Srî-tâla book to have been the prince conquered by the Mahometans. Lastly the names from 25 to 39 inclusive appear in the Supplementary MS. in a wrong place. There is good reason therefore to believe that the list is in the main correct, and furnishes the names of a number of Pândyas who actually ruled, some in the capital, some in other towns situated probably south of Madura and so less exposed to foreign invasion. And assuming this to have been the case, I shall now endeavour to clear up to some extent the mystery which envelops this portion of Madura History.

The first point which requires elucidation is the fact of the downfall of the ancient Pândya kingdom consequent upon the death of Kûn Pândya. There can be little doubt that during his reign it was powerful and well organized, and considerably advanced in civilization: or if proof of this be required it may be found in the inscription translated at page 56. How then has it come about, that nothing is known of the circumstances in which the kingdom fell to pieces, and that apparently no inscriptions or writings have been discovered which throw any light upon the matter? If, as seems to be indicated by the brief historical fragments above alluded to, the country fell a prey to foreign invasion immediately or soon after the death of the last Pândya, how comes it that the fact



is not recorded in any of the boastful memorials prepared by Hindû kings and generals which have come down to us? Châlûkya inscriptions of 1059, 1071, 1081, &c., declare that the Châlûkyas, the great rulers of those times, triumphed over the Chôla and more northerly kings, in terms which show clearly that substantial successes must have been obtained. How is it that they do not record the subjugation of Madura also? There are of course to be found statements to the effect that the Pândya was trodden down, bowed the neck, and so forth: but this much is said of most of the Indian kings whose names were known to Châlûkya writers of inscriptions. What I mean is, there does not appear to be in existence any certain memorial of a thorough subjugation of the Madura kingdom, such as we might reasonably have expected to find. May it not be possible, therefore, that the Pândya kingdom was invaded and broken up by some Mahometan chieftain at the end of the eleventh century? It seems to be taken for granted by most writers that the Mahometans never came down into the Dekkan until the beginning of the fourteenth century: but I do not know upon what grounds this assumption is based. And very possibly it is ill-founded. The leading Mahometan in the town of Madura kindly furnished me with a brief resumé of the traditions of his caste: and it appears from this that he believes that the earliest invasion of Madura by his countrymen took place in A. D. 1050, under the leadership of one Malik-ul-Mulk: and as he makes out the invasion of Malik Naib Kafûr to have taken place in 1320, it is clear that his dates are to be to some extent depended upon. And this tradition is strongly corroborated by a statement in the MS. above referred to in page 65, to the effect that Mahometans invaded the Karnatic for the first time in or shortly after the time of Râmânuja, who lived (according to the MS.) in the time of Kûn Pândya's son, Vîra Pândya Chôla: the Chôla, I presume, to whom Kûn Pândya gave his name and the conquered Chôla country. Moreover the inscription given in page 67 connects Kûn Pândya's name with the presence of Mahometans in the country.

Very possibly therefore further enquiries will lead to the discovery, that the Pândya kingdom was subverted by the Mahometans about the year 1100.

The next event which appears to be certain is the subjugation of Madura by the king of Ceylon. All the three works translated by Upham, the Mahâvansi the Ratnâkari, and the Râjâvali, speak of this



event; and the first of them describes it with some minuteness. It appears that in 1153 A. D. Parâkkrama Bâhu ascended the throne of Lanka, and soon distinguished himself by his energy and bravery: and conquered many of his enemies in Jambu-dwîpa, or the continent. About the twentieth year of his reign, that is to say in 1173 A.D., he organized a formidable expedition against the Madura kingdom. The landing of his troops was opposed at "Talatchilla in the kingdom of Pândy;" (what port can this have been?) but after a while their disembarkation was effected under a heavy fire of arrows: and after five bloody battles had been fought, the island of "Ramiswer" was taken and held. The enemy then brought up reserves, and fought obstinately no less than ten battles: but always unsuccessfully. They were completely worsted, and thousands of the Tamils were taken over to Lanka, and there forced to work as slaves. After this a desultory war was carried on between Madura and Lanka: but at last Kula Shêk'hara Pândya, who appears to have been king both of the Pândya and the Chôla country, turned the tables on his opponents, and invaded Lanka at the head of a large army. He was defeated in a general engagement, and forced to shut himself up in a fortress, the name of which is not given. This was stormed shortly afterwards, and the Pândya barely saved himself by flight. However he collected more troops, and again invaded Lanka: but he was again defeated, and pursued right into his own dominions. Many more battles were now fought, always with the same success; and at last the Tamils sustained a crushing defeat whilst "encamped from Tirippottoro up to Amarawaty, being a space of three gows," and Amarawaty was taken by storm. However Kula Shêk'hara carried on the war a little longer, and it was not until he had lost some more battles that he threw down his sword. At last he confessed himself vanquished, and the "Soly and Pandya countries" were annexed by the Lanka government.

Supposing that this invasion and subjugation of the Madura kingdom took place, and it is difficult to believe that the long account of it is pure fiction, the question arises, who was the Pândya entitled Kula Shêk'hara? The title does not occur in the list given above, and as it occurs several times in the Ceylon annals, I think it must have been a dynastic rather than a personal title. It seems not unlikely that the spirited prince who fought so long for his throne was Mîna Kêtana, the Pândya who is said to have resigned his kingdom and gone on a pilgrimage to Benares, and died there (see ante



page 72. He was the tenth in succession after Kûn Pândya, and if we allow five or six years for each of the reigns in these troublous times, and twenty or thirty years for the anarchy which ensued after Kûn Pândya's death, the date 1173 A. D. would suit him very well. And the fact of him being king of the Chôla country may be accounted for by the statement that his grandfather and great-grandfather were masters of the Chôla country, and his grandmother was a Chôla princess.

The next event of which I have been able to find any record was an invasion of Kanara by a Pândya prince. There is the authority of Wilks—see his *South of India*, Volume I, page 152—for the statement that in A.D. 1252 a nephew of the then Pândya invaded Kanara by sea and reduced it to submission. The title or nickname of this invader is said to have been Bootê Pandê Râja, but we are unfortunately not told what was his name, or that of the Pândya his uncle; and therefore the date, supposing it to be genuine, only goes to show inferentially that there must have been ruling at that time a Pândya prince of some power. It is just possible however that Kuvalayânanda, the king who is represented in the supplementary MS. to have carried on commerce by sea, and to have been drowned in a storm, was the uncle; and that the invader was Kundala, who, as we have seen before, “came to grief” and did not reign in Madura. It is quite possible that he was driven away from the Madura kingdom, and being accustomed to join in naval adventures with his father-in-law attempted to carve out a kingdom for himself in Kanara, and succeeded in his plan.

Next we have the authority of the supplementary MS. for placing the last king of its 23, namely Kula Vardd'hana, in A.D. 1249. This authority unsupported is not of much value: but supposing that some of these Pândyas reigned simultaneously, the date is not inconsistent with those already suggested, and may perhaps be allowed to stand for the present, no better being forthcoming.

It was not very long after this, according to the memorandum furnished to me as stated above by a Mahometan gentleman, that Madura was again taken by the Mahometans, under a general known as the Hazarat Sultân Ali Udhin Saheb; who governed the country for some time, and died in Madura in 1290. Two traditions connected with his coming to Madura survive. One of them is to the effect that a celebrated Khâzi named Sayud Tahz Udhin Saheb accompanied



the conqueror to Madura, and settling there became the progenitor of the Khâzi caste now living in the Khâzimâr street at Madura. The other is to the effect that the Sultân's remains were buried in the Gôripâleiyam (see ante page 67). My informant did not know in whose reign this took place, but it would seem to be probable that it was in the reign of Kula Vardd'hana (No. 24), for a MS. abstracted at page 394 of the Catalogue Raisonné states that the Mahometans came to Madura in the reign of Kula Vardd'hana and overthrew the fanes, &c., and were subsequently driven away by a Hindû army from the Karnatic. And the MS. goes on to say that the deliverers placed Sôma Shêk'hara (No. 25 it may be presumed) on the throne; and afterwards gives a list of 16 Pândyas who succeeded him, placing the last of them apparently some centuries too late. This evidence appears to be not unworthy of credit, and the probability that Kula Vardd'hana was the Pândya conquered by the Mahometans on this occasion is strengthened not a little by the circumstance that the Supplementary MS. of Mr. Taylor shows inferentially, that after his reign there was a period of anarchy or of trouble, about which nothing needs to be recorded.

Wilson has suggested with his usual acuteness that the *Sender Bandi* mentioned by Marco Polo, who must have ruled over some portion of the old Pândya country towards the end of the thirteenth century, may have been the Chandra Kula Dîpa, the son of the Kolam dancing girl. This could hardly have been the case, however, because if our list be at all correct, this king must have flourished not much more than fifty years after Kûn Pândya, or in the first half of the twelfth century. To place him at the end of the thirteenth century would be to allow two hundred years to eight kings, and only twenty-four to the remaining thirty-three. Moreover, what is to become of the Kula Dîpa part of the title? We must therefore I think reject the suggestion: but we may notwithstanding make use of it in a manner not intended, and endeavour to find some other Pândya with whom the *Sender Bandi* may be identified. Now, as far as sound goes, either a Sundara or a Chandra would do for our purpose: and as the list contains several Sundaras and almost as many Chandras, it is rather difficult to make a choice. As however it appears from the remarks appended to the Record Office list, that Parâkkrama obtained the throne by fighting against and driving out some foreigners; and that before his reign there was a period of anarchy: and as we know that he was in turn driven away from the kingdom in 1324, we should look for a



Sundara or a Chandra who reigned not very long before the last of the list. Accordingly Chandra Shêk'hara No. 39 and Kumâra Chandra No. 37 appear to be the most eligible names; and next to them Sôma Sundara No. 26. On the whole we may perhaps preferably choose Sôma Sundara, as Sôma is an unimportant portion of the title, and Sundara can stand alone as a title far better than Chandra; and place him A.D. 1275.

Of the events, if any, which happened between the second Mahometan invasion and the third, no memorial, so far as I can ascertain, is in existence: and I must conclude my necessarily imperfect notice of this obscure period with the observation that, however incorrect it may be, it seems to show that the date assigned by Wilson to the 23rd king Âdi Vîra, the poet, namely 1041 A.D., is probably much too early: and that that king could hardly have been the Vîra Pândya referred to in the Kongadêsa râjâkkal MS. as having reigned before 1004 A.D.

We have now arrived at a more easy and pleasant stage in our travels; and shall henceforward find ourselves guided by dates which can be in the main depended upon.

About the year 1324 A. D. a Mahometan Chief, described in Tamil Chronicles as Âthi Sultân Malak Nêmi, invaded the Pândya country, and driving away the king, Parâkkrama, took possession of the capital. This invader must have been the notorious Malleck Naib Cafoor of Ferishta, the pathic of the infamous Alla I. See Dow's Ferishta, volume i, page 270. The words Âthi Sultân mean "original Sultân," and must have been a title conferred on the man by the people of Madura: and Nêmi (நேமி) is obviously a mistake for Nêbi, (நேபி,) the Tamil way of writing Naib. See also ante page 76.

The Mahometans soon saw that the Hindûs of Madura were altogether at their mercy, and that they might safely indulge to the utmost their cruel and fanatical propensities, and they seem to have behaved on this occasion, as on so many others, with unparalleled ferocity and brutality. Excesses of every kind were perpetrated by the more violent of them with impunity; no respect was paid to life and property; trade and commerce were paralysed. On the other hand, so rigorously were police regulations enforced as against the terrified and helpless Hindûs, that one durst not converse with another in the open street, and even private condolence was not without its danger. Public worship, without which social life is



for Hindûs aimless and abortive, was put an end to apparently for all time. The golden idol named Mathurei-Nayanâ-Veittha-Perumâl, which graced the festal processions of the god Siva, had been carried for safety to the Malabar country, when Parâkkrama fled for his life, and there mysteriously lost together with much treasure. And the old temple, which had made Mad'hurâ glorious amongst cities for many hundreds of years, was after a while sentenced to destruction. The outer wall with its fourteen towers was pulled down, not we may suppose without jeers and ribald laughter; then the streets and buildings which it protected were destroyed; and soon nothing was left but the shrines of the two gods Sundarêshwara and Mînâkshi, together with the buildings which immediately surrounded them. These were for some reason spared. Either the menacing attitude of the people now driven to despair foreboded danger; or dissensions amongst the conquerors caused a diversion, and happily prevented the perpetration of this shameful crime. The latter would seem to be the more eligible reason to assign. For it seems clear that the monster Kafûr stayed in the Madura country only a short time, during which all was anarchy and confusion: and at the end of three years the administration devolved upon one Allâh-ud-dhîn Khan (?) He ruled for six years; and was succeeded by Uttum-ud-dhîn Khan (?) who ruled only three years, and was succeeded by his son-in-law Kutub-ud-dhîn (?) This chief ruled for five years: and was succeeded by Nakal-ud-dhîn (?) who ruled seven years. After him two chiefs Savâda Malik (?) and Ahad Malik (?) ruled between them twelve years. And lastly Fandak'h Malik (?) ruled for a like period. Altogether eight chiefs administered the country during forty-eight years.

The day of deliverance from this hateful yoke came at last. About the year 1372 a general named Kampana Udeiyâr marched to the relief of Madura: and in a short time succeeded in driving away the Mussulman invaders, or at all events reduced them to submission. This general is called in the *Srîtâla* book a Mysorean, and his title of Udeiyâr to some extent confirms the statement: and tradition says he was related to the then king of Mysore. But it is doubtful whether there was in fact a king of Mysore so early as 1372. A manuscript abstracted in page 438 of Mr. Taylor's catalogue speaks of a Kampanra Udeiyâr as being in 1371 the agent of Buk'ha the Râyar of Vijayanagar, and as a Buk'ha was the Râyar of that time, there seems to be good reason to suppose that Kampana Udeiyâr was



a general in the service of the Râyar, and was sent by him to oust the Mahometans from Madura.

The effect of the expulsion of these tyrants was instantaneous. Within a few days the temples of Siva and Vishnu had been everywhere re-opened; worship was performed once more with extraordinary solemnity and fervour: and that nothing might be wanting to restore confidence and energy to all classes of men, the Brâhmans contrived a great miracle significant of the pleasure of the god and of his perpetual regard for his faithful worshippers. Kampana was taken on an appointed day to witness the re-opening of the great Pagoda, and on his entering and approaching the shrine for the purpose of looking upon the face of the god, lo! and behold! everything was in precisely the same condition, as when the temple was first shut up just forty-eight years previously. The lamp ~~that~~ was lighted on that day was still burning; and the sandal-wood powder, the garland of flowers and the ornaments usually placed before the idol on the morning of a festival day were now found to be exactly as it is usual to find them on the evening of such a day. Kampana was, or at least affected to be greatly delighted: and gave large sums of money to the Brâhmans for their own support and that of the temple worship.

The government of the country was then provided for; and after ruling for some time Kampana went away, leaving Madura in the charge of his son Einbana Udeiyâr, who was after some time succeeded by his brother-in-law Porkâsa Udeiyâr. These three chiefs ruled altogether for a period of about thirty-two years.

About the year 1404 Porkâsa, the last Udeiyâr, was succeeded as ruler of Madura by a man named Lekkina Nâyakkan, who was succeeded by, or ruled jointly with another Nâyakkan named Mathanan. The two ruled altogether it is said forty-seven years, which brings us down to 1451.

Who these two Nâyakkans were, where they came from, and how they contrived to get possession of the capital, there is absolutely nothing to show. Mr. Taylor supposes, or supposed when he translated the Srîtâla book, that they and their successors were Mysoreans, and his view is supported by the historical memorandum of the Record Office alluded to above. But on the other hand it appears, as before shown, that the Râyar of Vijayanagar obtained possession of the country through the agency of Kampana, and in the absence of



evidence to the contrary we must presume that he kept possession of it: and that these Nâyakkans were his ~~servants~~ and Telugus. The title Nâyakkan, it should be explained, is the Tamil equivalent of the Telugu Nâyadu and Nâyani, and is borne by most members of the Kavareî caste now resident in the Madura District. I think there is some reason to suppose that it is altogether distinct from the title Nâyaga, which means leader, and is still borne by certain castes of Brâhmans.

In 1451, it is said, a third Nâyakkan named Lakkana brought to Madura four persons, whom he declared to be of the true Pândya stock, and set them, or one of them (the Tamil text is horribly bad) upon the throne. The names of these four are given as follows, namely :—

1. Sundara Tôl Mahâ Vilivânâthi Râyâr.
2. Kâleiyâr Somanâr.
3. Anjâtha Perumâl.
4. Muttarasa Tirumâlei Mahâ Vilivânâthi Râyâr.

The first of them is described as being “a son of the body of Ab’hirâmi, a dancing girl of the Kâleiyâr Pagoda, (Anglicé Caliar Coil,) who was the kept mistress of a (or the) Pândya Râja:” and, looking to the indescribably slovenly style of the Sritâla book, it is quite possible that the above description applies to all four. It is probable at all events that they were members of one and the same family, resident in Kâleiyâr Kôvil; and that their mother was the mistress of some petty Pândya chieftain. Whatever they were, they appear to have been crowned, and to have enjoyed a certain amount of kingly power in the Pândya country during a period of forty-eight years. Their names still survive in legends. And it would seem to be by no means improbable that it was these illegitimate Pândyas who built the four lofty towers (*Gôpuras*) which rise from the walls surrounding the great Pagoda at Madura. The building of them is always ascribed by natives to “the Pândyas;” and if it be true that the Mahometans destroyed the whole of the temple with the exception of the two inner sanctuaries—and there is no reason that I know of to doubt the fact—it is difficult to see, who but the Vilivânâthis could have undertaken these extensive works. It is to be hoped that some light will be thrown upon their reigns by researches in the country south of Madura. A couple of inscriptions on the south side of the Natchiyâr Pagoda at Srivellipattûr in the Tinnevely District



show, that a grant of lands, &c., was made in 1453 by Vira Valivānāthi Rāyar of the Madhurā country, and that another was made by Valivānāthi Rāyar in 1476 of lands situated in Sundara Tōl Nallūr, a village which may have been named after that Sundara Tōl who was the first of the four.

About the year 1500 what may be called for convenience' sake the Vilivānāthi dynasty retired from Madura: and a Nāyakkan named "Narasa having come and worshipped at Rāmēshwara, got possession of the Madura fort." The Srîtāla manuscript says nothing more than this about him, and it is impossible to conjecture with any amount of probability in what circumstances he rose to power. Possibly he was sent by the Rāyar to collect tribute withheld.

He stayed only a few months; and was succeeded by a Nāyakkan named Tenna, who is said to have ruled the country during a period of fifteen years: but about him also nothing is known.

About the year 1515 the administration of the country devolved upon one Narasa Pillei, who is said to have ruled four years. Curiously enough this man is called a Pillei in the Srîtāla book, an Āyyar in an inscription of 1515, and both an Āyyar and a Nāyakkan in another of 1516. As the title Āyyar is one usually borne by Brāhmans alone at the present day—that is of course in the Madura District—and the title Pillei is usually borne by Vellālans and men of a few other castes, I doubted at first whether the Narasa of the Srîtāla book could be the Narasa of the inscription. But all doubt on this point was set at rest by the discovery, that in the inscription of 1515 the names of the ancestors of Narasa are given, and they are said to have been Pilleis of Tanjore. Very probably therefore Narasa was a Brāhman, (I am told that Brāhmans formerly bore the title of Pillei not infrequently, as being "sons" of the gods Rāma, Subramanya, and others,) and on becoming Governor of Madura in behalf of the Rāyar of Vijayanagar endeavoured to assume the more dignified titles of Āyyar (Ārya) and Nāyaka, leader.

The two inscriptions above referred to show that the Governor was the servant of the great Krishna Rāyar: and an additional proof is thus given of the fact that the date usually assigned to that illustrious Emperor is correct, and of the fact that his empire extended as far south as Cape Comorin.

It will have been observed that in 1500 a Narasa Nāyakkan took possession of Madura, and stayed in it for a short time; and it seems



not unlikely that this man was the Narasa who was Governor of the country from 1515 to 1519.

In 1519 Narasa was succeeded by a Nāyakkan named Kuṛu Kuru Timmappa, who ruled five years.

In 1524 a Nāyakkan named Kattiyama Kāmeiya succeeded, and made way for another named Chinnappa two years afterwards.

This Governor ruled for four years, and was succeeded by a Nāyakkan named Iyakarei Veyyappa, who ruled five years.

In 1535. the government of the country fell into the hands of a man named Visvanāt'ha Nāyakkar Āyyar. He ruled nine years: and was succeeded in 1544 according to the Srītāla book by the Vāthamannans, or Varathamannans, who ruled for only one year. This name, as well it might, has puzzled Mr. Taylor sorely: but it is only a slight mistake for Varathappa Nāyakkar, the name which comes in here in the list given by the historical memorandum of the Record Office.

In 1545 Dumbicchi Nāyakkan was governor. After twenty months he was succeeded by Visvanāt'ha Nāyakkan; who after a little better than one year was succeeded by one called in the Srītāla book Vittilapū Rāja, and in the historical memorandum Vittila Rāja.

This Vittila Rāja is said to have ruled for twelve years, namely from 1546-7 to 1557-8: and I think there is every reason to suppose that he was no other than the great Rāma Rāja or Rāz of Vijayanagar. An inscription running round the *garb'ha griha* of the old Perumāl Pagoda at Madura states, that certain things were done in the period beginning with the year *Plavanga* and ending with the year *Nala*, during the time of Rāma Rāja Vittala Dēva Mahā Reyar; and seeing that both those years fall within the period assigned to Vittila Rāja by the Srītāla book; that the northern title Vittila or Vittala is one that occurs most extremely rarely, if at all, in the Madura district; and that Rāma Rāja was undoubtedly alive and powerful at this time; looking to all these facts, I think it extremely reasonable to suppose that the great Rāma Rāja was the person meant by the Vittila or Vittala of our authorities, and that he governed the Madura country more or less directly for a period of twelve years.

In 1557 Vittila Rāja ceased to rule: and during the next three years the country seems to have been in a state of anarchy and confusion.



The names of no less than three Nāyakkans are given as rulers. And during this same short period we find that a Pāndya contrived to get himself crowned king; the Rāja of Tanjore drove him away; a Vijayanagar general drove out the Tanjorean, and endeavoured to make himself independent; and finally the son of this general drove out the intruder, and himself assumed the reins of government.

This last event happened in 1559. We have now reached a very eventful period in the history of Madura: and one which fortunately admits of considerable illustration. I shall therefore bring this meagre and unsatisfactory chapter to a close, and in the next commence the history of the famous Nāyakkan dynasty of Madura, which remained in power for very nearly two centuries, and raised the country to probably the highest level of civilization attainable by it under a native government.





## CHAPTER IV.

*Visvanât'ha.*—His birth and parentage.—The circumstances in which he came to Madura.—The great Arya Nâyaga Muthali.—His parentage and early advancement.—*Visvanât'ha* restores the Pândya, but allows him no power.—Settlement of the country.—Generosity of *Visvanât'ha*.—Effects of his policy.—Acquisition of Trichinopoly.—The five Pândavas.—Their subjugation.—Settlement of the Tinnevely country.—Creation of the Poligars.—Accounts of their ancestors.—Death of *Visvanât'ha*.—His son.—Rebellion.—Invasion and subjugation of Ceylon.—Arya Nâyaga brings his relations to Madura.—The Nâyakkan Governor dies, and is succeeded by his two sons.—The Mâvilivâna Râja.—The fortification of Chidambara.—The joint Governorship comes to an end.

The founder of the Nâyakkan dynasty of Madura was a chief named *Visvanât'ha*. All the authorities appear to agree upon this point : and it will therefore be unnecessary to prove it. The date of his accession to power was, as has been already stated, 1559. This is the date given by the Srî-tâla book, by the historical memorandum of the Record Office, and by the most trustworthy of the MSS. translated by Mr. Taylor ; and it is perfectly consistent with precedent and subsequent dates, the accuracy of which there can be no reason to doubt. On the other hand, the "History of the Karnatâca Governors," which was prepared by some servants of the descendants of the last of the line, ascribes a much earlier date to *Visvanât'ha*. And some of the Chronicles of the Madura Poligars, who owe the origin of their greatness to *Visvanât'ha*, claim very naturally a very much higher antiquity for that origin than is usually allowed. But evidence of this kind is of course unworthy of credence when antagonistic, as in the present case, to that given by disinterested persons : and I see no sufficient reason to doubt the fact that 1559 is the correct date of *Visvanât'ha's* assumption of the government.



The birth and education of Visvanât'ha, like those of many other eminent men, are involved in considerable mystery : but a few facts connected with them stand out in bold relief, and may without much hesitation be accepted as historical. He appears to have been the only son of an officer of the Vijayanagar government who was named Nâgama or Nâgappa and well known by the title of Kôtiya, which he bore as being in charge of the palace *Kôti*s or store-houses. His father had been for a long time childless, and resolved at last to perform a pilgrimage to Kâsi (Benares,) in order to propitiate the deity if possible, and procure the birth of a son and heir, who might in time to come rescue his soul from the torments of purgatory. The desired effect followed this pious act, and Visvanât'ha was born. The date of this event is unknown : but he must have been an elderly man when he began to rule, in 1559 ; and perhaps we should not go far wrong in assigning to this event the date 1500. Visvanât'hâ appears to have early distinguished himself as a warrior, and to have gained the approbation of the Râyar on several occasions by successfully opposing the forces of the Mahometan kings, who subsequently combined together and almost overthrew the last of the great Hindû governments. And it would seem to be not unlikely that he was so early as 1535 rewarded for his services by being made governor of Madura : though I have no direct authority for the suggestion. But see page 84. His father Nâgama appears to have been no less brave and active ; and all the authorities seem to agree in stating that he rose eventually to one of the highest posts in the gift of the Râyar, namely that of commander-in-chief of the armies of the south. And it was during the time that he held this command that the following circumstances occurred, which led to the final aggrandisement of the family and the establishment of the Nâyakkan dynasty.

By some means which cannot now be traced, a man known as Chandra Shêk'hara Pândya had contrived to get himself crowned as king of the Madura country, and shortly after the administration of Vittala Râja came to a close (see page 85) was either nominally or actually ruler. Possibly the last of the three Nâyakkans who succeeded Vittala Râja dragged the so-called Pândya out of obscurity, and attempted to prop up his own authority by the support of a great and familiar name. However this may have been, a Pândya was undoubtedly placed on the throne : and ruled for a short time, until the Chôla king of that time named Vîra Shêk'hara, took the



opportunity of invading the country, and annexing it to his own dominions. Upon this the mock Pândya fled with his son to the court of the Râyar, and begged for protection and support. After hearing his tale, which no doubt was composed with considerable skill, the Râyar determined to assist him, and ordered Kôtiya Nâgama Nâyakkan to march against Tanjore, chastise its rebellious Râja, and reinstate the refugee upon the throne of the Pândyas. Agreeably to this command the general put himself at the head of a sufficient number of troops, and marched southwards. It did not take him long to attack and defeat the king of Tanjore : and he soon afterwards gained possession of the fort of Madura, and within a few days reduced the surrounding country to submission. But having obeyed his lord to the letter up to this point, he suddenly threw off his allegiance : and declining to do anything for the self-styled Pândya, began to administer the country on his own account and for his own sole benefit. What induced him to venture upon this hazardous move, to defy the Râyar in the very plenitude of his power, and at a time when the Empire appears to have been more than ordinarily secure from foreign invasion, is a problem which no authorities that I have come across do anything to solve. We may suppose however, that the now old and experienced Nâgama saw the political horizon darkened by the clouds which discharged their full fury upon the state in 1564 : and selfishly hoped to save something for his family out of the wreck which he felt to be inevitable.

But if this was his expectation, he was doomed to disappointment. As soon as the Râyar came to know what had taken place, he became deeply and violently angry, and resolved upon instant action. Hastily summoning a council, he laid the case before his most faithful servants, and amongst others Visvanât'ha, and after reviling the name of the traitor to whom he had shown so great kindness and favor, called out in a voice quivering with passion, " where amongst you all is he, who will bring me that rebel's head ? " The councillors looked round one at another, but no one spoke a word. Again the question was asked : and again there was no reply. At last, to the astonishment of all present, Visvanât'ha stood up and declared his willingness to undertake the duty required. The Râyar was naturally enough at first inclined to mistrust the fidelity of his servant, the moreso seeing that the father of that servant had turned traitor after serving faithfully for a whole life-time : but Visvanât'ha succeeded in reassuring him, and was eventually permitted to march against his



father at the head of a considerable army. He soon justified the extraordinary confidence placed in him, and Nâgama was defeated in a pitched battle, and taken prisoner and placed in close confinement. This done, the rebellion collapsed forthwith; and Visvanât'ha, who had probably undertaken this expedition with the sole object of saving his father from destruction, had the happiness shortly afterwards of procuring for his father an unconditional pardon.

Before going on to describe the more important consequences which flowed from this expedition, I must introduce my readers to a very remarkable man who accompanied Visvanât'ha to Madura. This was Arya Nâyaga Muthali, or as he is commonly called Arya Nât'ha, the king-maker and the patron saint of the Madura *Pâleiyakârans* or Poligars. The history of this hero has been told in so many different ways, and is enveloped in so much that is purely legendary, that it is anything but easy to feel one's way to the truth regarding him. And whereas on the one hand we are merely told that he was the general and prime minister of Visvanât'ha; on the other hand we are told that he was the most powerful general in the service of the Râyar and came near to being Râyar himself after the death of Râma Râz in 1564. There can be no doubt however that he was a man of great power and authority. Tradition makes much of him. The Poligars pray to him as the founder of their order. An equestrian statue was erected in memory of him by the greatest of the Nâyakkans in the *Puthu Mantapam* at Madura, and is still crowned with garlands by the hero-worshippers of to-day. And the splendid thousand-pillared hall which he built within the enclosure of the great Pagoda still affords evidence of his magnificence. He is said to have been born in Meippôdu in the Kâncipura district, of poor parents belonging to the Vellâla caste. His future greatness was foreshadowed by the circumstance of a cobra-di-capella rearing its hood over him when an infant, and protecting him from the rays of the sun. And when he was a youth, a Brâhman foretold that he would rise to power, and took a written agreement from him to the effect that when the day of his greatness should come, a portion of his wealth should be granted to the fortune-teller. Shortly after this he went to the Court of the Râyar, and obtained employment in one of the departments under the charge of Kôtiya Nâgama Nâyakkan. His remarkable energy and ability soon brought him forward: and he had not been long employed, when he was so fortunate as to attract the attention of the Râyar himself, by readily



answering a mathematical question which none of the ministers and courtiers could understand. Having shown himself to be a man of parts, he next distinguished himself by showing an athlete how to cut off with a single blow the head of an enormous buffalo. It was customary for the Emperor to go out into the jungles once every year, and personally preside over the capture in a net of a wild buffalo. When caught, the animal was offered up to the guardian goddess of the capital: and it was necessary to cut off its head with one stroke of a sword; or the sacrifice would be quite ineffectual, and good luck would desert the Emperor for ever. On one occasion a huge and very fierce animal provided with exceptionally long and powerful horns was taken, and every one shrank from the responsibility of attempting the sacrifice: but young Arya Nâyaga stepped forward, and offered to show how what was wanted might be done, and his advice was followed with complete success. A subordinate office in the palace was immediately conferred upon him; and then a better one; and after rising to power with marvellous rapidity, this fortunate son of a peasant became in a few years one of the Emperor's trusted ministers and generals. He was discharging the duties of his office with eminent zeal and ability, when the expedition against his patron Nâgama was undertaken; and he accompanied Visvanât'ha to Madura, as has been shown above.

We may now return to Visvanât'ha. He appears to have reinstated the refugee Pândya on the throne, in obedience to his instructions: and it is just possible that he intended at first to make him something better than a mere puppet. But if so, circumstances were too strong to be resisted, and Visvanât'ha very soon found himself to be the only authority in the country capable of enforcing obedience and respect. The various tribes which inhabited the neighbourhood of Madura were far too turbulent by nature to obey a man of Chandra Shêk'hara's calibre: and the leading men had profited too long and too largely by anarchy to submit to the will of any but a man of energy and conduct, well supported by trained soldiers. Now Visvanât'ha was undoubtedly a man of energy and conduct. And he was at the head of a large body of troops accustomed to be led by him. And moreover he was supported by a considerable number of his own countrymen, who had during the preceding two or three centuries emigrated from the north and settled in great numbers in the more promising of the unoccupied tracts on all sides



of the Palani mountains, and in the neighbourhoods of Dindigul and Madura. Under these circumstances it is not to be wondered at if Visvanât'ha found it inexpedient to imperil the interests of the country by trusting Chandra Shék'hara with any portion of power: if he preferred taking the whole responsibility of the administration upon his own shoulders, to indulging in the luxury of being generous and kind. As was natural, he kept the helpless Pândya on the throne as directed by his lord: but at once began to govern on his own account.

The "history of the Karnataka governors," which very naturally paints the actions of the Nâyakkans only in the most pleasing colors, declares that soon after the Pândya was restored, he died and was succeeded by his son; that the latter also died very shortly afterwards; and the Pândya race thereupon became extinct. In consequence of this, it goes on to say, the Râyar sent for Visvanât'ha and caused him to be anointed with Ganges water as king of the Madura country, and gave him the magnificent title of "Lord of the Pândya throne;" declaring at the same time that the grant was for all time, and giving him the image of the guardian Durga of Vijayanagar to carry away with him to his newly-acquired capital. Other chronicles say that the Pândya had no son: and made over the whole kingdom to Visvanât'ha in order to prevent the Chôla king from again usurping it. These accounts are in themselves exceedingly suspicious: and their falsity is I think established by the existence of a copper-plate inscription in the possession of the great Pagoda authorities, which shows clearly that the Pândya had two sons, Vîra and another, both of whom grew up and were actually invested with a kind of mock sovereignty during the time of Visvanât'ha and his immediate successors. The inscription may of course be a forgery: but if it is, it nevertheless shows what was the received belief with regard to the position of Visvanât'ha at the time when the fraud was perpetrated or attempted. But I can see no reason to suspect it to be other than what it purports to be: a genuine grant of lands made by the Nâyakkan governor with the permission of the Pândya quasi-king for the time being.

Having resolved to rule the Madura country, and having doubtless received permission from the Râyar to do as he intended, Visvanât'ha set to work in earnest. His first step was to secure the co-operation of his friend Arya Nâyaga, who fortunately for him agreed to take



office in the double capacity of commander-in-chief and prime minister, and was duly appointed with the usual title of Dalavây. The safety of the capital was then provided for by the demolition of the Pândya rampart and ditch which at that time surrounded the walls of the Pagoda only, and the ruins of which can still be traced in places, and the construction in their place of an extensive double-walled fortress. And whilst this work was being pushed on, the new Governor did everything in his power to secure the good-will and support of the Brâhmans and of the people generally. Pagodas were repaired, and new ones built. *Agrahâras* or Brâhman streets were constructed in suitable spots. And observing that cultivation was in a very languishing condition, and the population of the country very scanty and insufficient, he proceeded to remedy these defects by taking off large channels from the upper portions of the river Veigei—probably the Peranei and Chittanei owe their origin to him—and by building new villages in the tracts watered by means of those channels. The cost of these improvements was defrayed, it is said, out of the considerable treasures which had been accumulated by the Governor's father, Nâgama: and if this was so, we have in it a striking proof of the nobility of Visvanât'ha's character. Possibly too, Arya Nâyaga contributed a portion of the sum expended. It is at all events certain that the public treasury could not have provided the funds requisite for the heavy expenditure incurred.

In a very short time the natural results of Visvanât'ha's beneficent policy began to appear. Relying on the hopes and inducements held out to them, all classes of ryots bestirred themselves, and set to work with more than their wonted vigour. Men who had not cultivated an acre for years, came forward in crowds with applications for small holdings. The holders of small, were clamorous for larger parcels of land. And everywhere extraordinary excitement and activity prevailed. In the northern and more settled portion of the country the demand for arable lands became so great, that some enterprising individuals pushed on close under the walls of the fort of Trichinopoly, which then belonged to the king of Tanjore.

Partly in consequence of these encroachments; partly in consequence of the roads to Srî-Rang'ha and Râmêshwara being so infested with robbers as to deter pilgrims from resorting to the shrines at those places, and there being no likelihood of the weak government



of Tanjore being presently able to grapple successfully with this difficulty; Visvanât'ha and Arya Nâyaga were induced to make a demand for the cession of Trichinopoly in exchange for the fortress of Vallam. And after putting some little pressure on the Râja of Tanjore, they succeeded in effecting their object. No sooner was this important transfer effected, than Visvanât'ha hastened to turn it to the best account. Having taken possession of Trichinopoly, and personally inspected its fortifications, he commenced forthwith to repair and enlarge them. A long double-wall was carried round the town, and flanked by a deep ditch capable of being filled with water from the river Kâvêri. And towers and gateways were erected at suitable spots. Meanwhile, houses were built within the limits of the fort for the accommodation of merchants, artizans and others desirous of living under the shadow of the Governor's protection. And the Brâhmans were conciliated by the construction of Agradhâras and Pagodas, and more especially by the repairing of their favorite temple at Sri-Rang'ha. The banditti question was very speedily disposed of. The jungles on either side of the river which harboured the miscreants, were all cut down: and bodies of troops patrolled the roads and made them safe. The fruits of this energetic administration were soon apparent. Wealthy pilgrims came flocking along the roads, and merchants of all kinds hastened to supply their wants. And ryots came from all quarters to settle on the lands near the fort; and being assisted with advances and by the digging of wells, tanks and channels converted many an arid wilderness into fields and gardens.

In the meantime news came from the south, which made it clear to Visvanât'ha that his presence there was urgently required. Arya Nâyaga had undertaken to settle the Tinnevely country, whilst the Governor strengthened his hands in Trichinopoly: and had wholly failed in effecting his object. On marching southwards with a small force he had discovered that five chieftains, who styled themselves "the five Pândavas," had formed a confederacy against the Nâyakkan, and were resolved to fight to the death before acknowledging his supremacy, or giving up the government of their territory, of which Kâyatâttûr and the surrounding tracts appear to have been the most important part. Who these chieftains were, I am unable to say with certainty. But it is stated in the "Genealogy of Râma B'hadra," abstracted at page 376 of the Catalogue Raisonné,



that the Pancha Pândavas (five Pândavas) were the illegitimate sons of the grandfather of Chandra Shêk'hara, whom Visvanât'ha set upon the throne; that it was in consequence of their interference and intrigues that Chandra Shêk'hara was unable to maintain his authority; and for this reason he resigned the sceptre into the hands of Nâgama Nâyakkan. And this account would seem to be very probably correct. The copper-plate inscription referred to at page 91 speaks of Kula Shêk'hara Pândya as the son of Parâkkrama Pândya, and by Kula Shêk'hara, a most common dynastic title, Chandra Shêk'hara must I think be meant. And an inscription on the wall of the principal Pagoda at Srîvelliputtûr shows, that a grant of lands was made in 1546 by Parâkkrama Pândya Dévar, with the sanction of his father who seems to have been at that time the ruler of some part of the southern country, but whose name is unfortunately not given. Very probably therefore the ruler referred to in this Srîvelliputtûr inscription was the grandfather of Chandra or Kula Shêk'hara; and seeing that his grant is found in the very same place in which occur grants of the Vilivânâthi dynasty, which had disappeared from Madura only forty-six years previously, it is also very probable that he was a descendant of that family. And the presumption arises at the same time that the Vilivânâthi family; of whom we shall hear once more as our history advances, although they ceased in 1500 or thereabouts to rule in the capital of the Madura country, did not cease until a considerably later period to exercise power in the southern part of the country, and that their authority there continued to be extensive. And this presumption is considerably strengthened by the evidence afforded by an inscription at Conjeveram, of which the purport is given in page 331 of the Catalogue Raisonné. According to this inscription the Râyar Achyuta succeeded in 1530-31 and in the following year conquered many persons; subdued the Pândya king, and took one of his daughters, and fixed a pillar of victory on the banks of the Tâmbiraparni, the river of Tinnevely. It may I think be fairly concluded that this Pândya king who reigned in 1531-32, was either the Pândya of 1546 or his father: and that he was a king whose defeat the Râyar held to be of no slight importance.

Supposing this to have been so, nothing could be more likely than that some illegitimate sons of the Pândya ruler of 1546 should combine against his grandson, Chandra Shêk'hara, a few years later, namely in 1558 or 59, when Nâgama was sent to place him



upon the Pândya throne; should then endeavour to procure for themselves a share, if not the whole of the good things which Nagama was in a position to bestow; and should afterwards resolutely resist Visvanâtha's attempt to extend his authority over their own proper territory. There is nothing forced or unnatural about such a hypothesis: and possibly researches in Tinnevely will at some future time prove it to be correct. In the meantime it must be left as it is.

These five Pândavas then, as they call themselves, had entrenched themselves in almost impenetrable retreats, and from having great local influence were in a position to render the settlement of the country quite impracticable. Arya Nâyaga tried what he could do by alternately coaxing and threatening them, but soon found that his endeavours were perfectly fruitless; and he was forced to change his tactics. Throwing his troops into the jungles and fastnesses of the enemies' country, he resolved to effect by force what he could not effect by negotiation. But he was still unsuccessful. After eluding him for some time, the confederates surprised him one day in a disadvantageous position, and gave him a severe check: and in consequence of this, and of his being ill-supplied with troops, the commander-in-chief was compelled to fall back in the direction of Madura; and to call on the Governor for reinforcements.

On receipt of his general's despatch Visvanât'ha perceived that no time was to be lost, and at once took the field in person. He joined his forces with those of Arya Nâyaga: and the two marched into the Pândyas' country, and offered them battle. The chiefs declined to try the issue of a general engagement, having neither men nor money in abundance, but they were quite ready to fight in their own way; and they resorted to a harassing guerilla warfare, which there appeared to be no prospect of bringing to a close. The Governor's troops were worsted in several petty engagements, and his patience began to fail him, when at last a simple method of getting rid of the difficulty suggested itself to his mind. He challenged the chiefs to fight against him, five against one: the conditions to be these, they should leave the country if unsuccessful, rule it if successful. The challenge was accepted; but in a modified form. The chiefs were too gallant to fight all of them against one man, and so chose one of their number to be their champion. At the appointed time he came forth into the field, mounted on a charger, encased in body-armour, and



armed with a heavy sword: and Visvanât'ha went out to meet him. At the Governor's request the Pândya struck first, and ineffectually. A second blow was struck: and then a third: but with no better fortune. And then Visvanât'ha struck. The blow fell true and heavy, and the Pândya champion fell to rise no more. Upon this the others kept their promise, and retiring to another country, left the Governor in undisturbed possession of Tinnevelly and all the territories dependent thereon. Such is the romantic story told in the "history of the Karnataka governors:" and it is corroborated in its main features by certain memoirs relative to the lives of some of the Madura Poligars. It seems probable however, that Visvanât'ha did not himself engage in a personal contest with the champion.

Having satisfactorily disposed of what had threatened to be a very dangerous business, Visvanât'ha began in accordance with his usual policy to consolidate his acquisitions in the south by familiarizing the people with the blessings of good government, and by securing the good-will of the Brâhmans. The town of Tinnevelly was re-built and enlarged; pagodas were erected on every side; and the mean villages which lined the banks of the river Tâmbiraparni were pulled down, and new ones built in their places. Water-courses were planned and cut, and old works of irrigation repaired and strengthened. In short, the wants of the whole country were attended to, and the seeds of a lasting popularity sown.

Whilst these improvements were being effected, Visvanât'ha found it necessary to march up the great valley of Dindigul and lay seige to the fortress of Kambam. It appears from page 377 of the Catalogue Raisonné that the chief of the Kambam and Gûdalûr country had ceased to pay tribute to the Madura governor, in consequence of his fort having been taken by the Chôla Râja. It is difficult to understand how this could have been. For the Chôla Râja had only a short time before been compelled to cede to Madura his strong fort of Trichinopoly: and supposing him to have been anxious and able to revenge himself on Visvanât'ha so soon afterwards, he would scarcely have selected for attack so remote and unimportant a place as Kambam. However, the fact is of no great consequence. The fort was soon taken: and nothing came of the conflict, if a conflict there was, between the two neighbouring governments.

Whilst the settlement of the southern districts was being effected, Visvanât'ha found it necessary to attempt to provide for the stability



of the dynasty of which he hoped to be the founder, by identifying its interests with those of the principal men of the country ; and by rendering his rule equally popular with all classes of society. But the task appeared to be one of almost hopeless difficulty. He had brought with him to Madura crowds of dependents and adherents of his own caste, who had as a body proved themselves to be faithful and obedient and had done his work excellently well. These men were all of them greedily looking for their rewards : and unless provided for with lavish liberality would very soon show their teeth. Then there were the old Tamil hereditary chieftains, whom he had found possessed of considerable territories and power. Their goodwill it was at once most necessary and most difficult to secure. Accustomed from generation to generation to perpetually recurring periods of anarchy, they knew only too well how to draw profit from misrule : and as they sulkily looked on at the doings of the Telugu intruder, it seemed ridiculous to expect that they would ever acquiesce in the establishment of order and sovereign power. Moreover they could not but regard with feelings of the bitterest jealousy and hatred the foreigners who surrounded the Governor's person, and who seemed about to appropriate to themselves all the highest offices and emoluments in his gift. Then again there were the impoverished and discontented adherents of the Pândyas : men who could hope for every thing from revolution, from peace and quiet nothing. And lastly there were the bold and turbulent Telugu and Kanarese adventurers, whose ancestors had seized with a strong grip the northern and western divisions of the country ; who paid no man tribute ; and whose lawless tempers could ill brook the curb and spur of a strong government. It was Visvanât'ha's task to reconcile the conflicting interests of all these classes, to smooth away differences, and to conciliate affection : and to do this in a strange country and with an empty purse ! At last he contrived a scheme by which it seemed possible to attain success. Its object was to enrich and ennoble the most powerful of each class, and at the same time secure their and their descendants' allegiance to himself and his successors. This scheme, though possibly as good as any that could at such a time be devised, was nevertheless fraught with all the elements of danger, and in the end contributed largely, as we shall see, to the subversion of the Nâyakan dynasty. Its details were as follows. There were seventy-two bastions to the fort of Madura : and each of them was now formally placed in charge of a particular chief, who was bound for himself and



his heirs to keep his post at all times and under all circumstances. He was also bound to pay a fixed annual tribute ; to supply and keep in readiness a quota of troops for the Governor's armies ; and to keep the Governor's peace over a particular tract of country. And in consideration of his promise to perform these and other services, a grant was made to him of a tract of country consisting of a certain number of villages, and proportioned to his rank and the favor with which Visvanât'ha and Arya Nâyaga respectively regarded him, together with the title of *Pâleiyakâran* (Poligar.) In addition to this, each grantee was presented with valuable gifts ; titles and privileges were conferred upon him amid much pomp and ceremony, and nothing was omitted, which could in any way add to the solemnity and importance of the Governor's act.

Such was the origin of the famous Madura Pâleiyakârans, of some of whom the descendants are still possessed of their ancestors' feuds, if not of their rank and power. I have not been able to find any list of the names of the chiefs actually appointed by Visvanât'ha and Arya Nâyaga : and the lists of Poligars given in Mr. Taylor's O. H. MSS. are inconsistent, scarcely intelligible, and almost valueless. However from the Catalogue Raisonné and from Ward's Survey report I have been able to gather some information respecting the original chieftains, of a highly interesting character : and I think that a brief abstract of the history of the origin of a few of the principal Poligars will not be out of place here.

The ancestors of the Pâleiyakâran of Virupâkshi were of the Kambala caste, and lived in Gûti under the rule of the Mahometans. Being oppressed and insulted by their rulers, they fled southwards and received protection from Tirumala Râyar. Afterwards, when a Mahometan named Bûla Saheb (?) invaded their protectors' dominions, their chief Chinnappa Nâyakkan distinguished himself in battle, and was rewarded with the permission to occupy the country round Kûttu Iluppei ; his brother Kuppaya was permitted to settle in the Dâdampatti country ; and another brother in Ideiya-kôttei. His followers rapidly spread themselves over the country and founded many villages. And his son was now made a Pâleiyakâran, and entrusted with the defence of the *Thirumanjuna Vâsal* bastion.

The ancestors of the Pâleiyakâran Bôdi Nâyakkan lived in Gûti : and in consequence of Mahometan invasions emigrated to the Pândya country in 1336. At that time the Pândya king had fled into the



Malayâla country: and the District they came to, which lay north of the river Veigei, was occupied by ten families subject to the rule of the Malayâla country. Eight chiefs of the tribe ruled it in succession, of whom the last was named Sila Bôdi Nâyakkan, and his son Bangâru Muttu was appointed keeper of the 60th bastion.

Râma B'hadra Nâyakkan was a servant of the well-known Kôtiya Nâgama, and acted as his deputy when he went on a pilgrimage to Kâsi (Benares) to pray for a son. He served under Nâgama in the expedition against the Chôla Nâyakkan and afterwards under Visvanât'ha in the expedition to Madura. Having rendered good service in storming the fort of Kambam, he was made Pâleiyakâran of the Vadagarei District on the north bank of the Veigei river, (hence the name,) and near the Palani mountains.

The ancestors of the Pâleiyakâran of Thavasi-madei, or the pool of penance, were Tottiyans living in Gûti. They fled from the oppression of the Mahometans to the district north of the Sirumalei; where they discovered the pool from which the district derived its name. Their chief, named Shotala Nâyakkan, was so fortunate as to cure Nâgama of a serious illness whilst on his way to pray at the Palani temple: and was rewarded with a grant and the charge of the 72nd bastion. He lost his life at Kâyatâtâtûr.

In other cases the ancestors of the Pâleiyakârans had immigrated into the Madura country at a very much earlier date. For instance it appears from page 384 of the Catalogue Raisonné, that the ancestors of the chief of Nadava-Kurichi came from the Kiluvai Kundiyan fort at so early a date that he was the 29th in succession when appointed to the charge of a bastion. They had exterminated the Kallans and Kurumbas of various tracts, for instance Varasing'ha Nâdu (? Varshanâd) the Kurumba Nâdu and Nadava-Kurichi in the times of the Pândyas: and had been rewarded for their services by grants of territory. And in later times they assisted the king Kula Shêk'hara Pândya against the ruler at Kâyatâtâtûr. That is to say, as this is stated to have happened shortly before the Nâyakkan governors began to rule the country, they assisted Kula or Chandra Shêk'hara against the "five Pândavas" of Kâyatâtâtûr. The statement is valuable as showing that, as suggested above, Kula Shêk'hara and Chandra Shêk'hara must have been one and the same person: and that he must have been engaged in hostilities against the five Pândavas during the period preceding the expedition of Visvanât'ha. Mention is also



made in this MS. of king Parâkkrama Pândya, just before Kula Shêk'hara is spoken of: and I think there is reason to believe that Parâkkrama, the father of Kula or Chandra Shêk'hara, must have been a puppet king. The copper-plate inscription mentions him in such a manner as to show clearly that he was the first of a short dynasty: and it is quite possible that whilst his father was ruling in the country round Srîvelliputtûr (see ante page 94) Parâkkrama was sent for to Madura by the governor of the time—perhaps Vittala Râja—and set upon the throne.

After carrying his great scheme into execution Visvanât'ha Nâyakkan ruled peaceably for a short time, and then died in December 1563 in great honor and glory. Indeed, the name of Maha Râja Mânya Râja Srî Visvanât'ha Nâyani Âyyalu Gâru is still affectionately remembered by the people of Madura, as being that of a great and good ruler to whom the country owes much. And his immediate successors held him in so high esteem, that some of them adopted the curious custom of placing his name before their own in grants, as if he had not died but were still ruling conjointly with the grantor.

At the close of 1563 the office of Governor of the Madura country descended to the son of Visvanât'ha, named Kumâra Krishnappa (or Krishnama) sometimes also called Periya Krishnama. His official title—if I may so call it—appears from an old painting on the wall on the south side of the celebrated golden-lily tank in the Madura Pagoda, to have been the same *mutatis mutandis* as that borne by his father, namely Maha Râja Mânya Râja Srî Kumâra Krishnappa Nâyani Âyyalu Gâru. And for convenience' sake I may here state that this title appears from the above memorial to have been borne by all the Nâyakkan successors of Visvanât'ha.

Kumâra Krishnappa appears to have been a brave and politic ruler: but beyond that nothing is known of his character. He had not been long in power when a formidable rebellion was organized by Dumbicchi Nâyakkan, one of the seventy-two Pâleiyakârans. We are not told, what were the circumstances which led to this rising: or how it came about that a single Pâleiyakâran dared to oppose the armies of the Râyar's Vicegerent, more particularly when that officer was supported by such a man as the great Arya Nâyaga Muthali. But the rebellion can be very easily accounted for by supposing that this Pâleiyakâran was that Dumbicchi Nâyakkan, who some years previously, namely about 1543, had been master of the



country. Be this as it may, some of the many chiefs who were ever longing for wealth and power, ever hoping for the opening of some door to their ambition and greed, determined now to make a struggle for what they coveted : and Dumbicchi led the movement. Alarming Mussulman combinations in the north had compelled Arya Nâyaga to hurriedly quit Madura ; and his return, or at all events his immediate return, seemed to be very improbable : and it was clear that now or never was the time for the discontented to strike a sudden and effectual blow. Accordingly the confederates made preparations with speed and secrecy, collected a large body of troops, and taking the field without any warning overran and reduced to submission a considerable extent of country. The Governor seems to have been unprepared for an attempt of this kind. Foolishly relying perhaps on the generosity of men who had been handsomely treated by his father, and that so recently, he had not looked for ingratitude and treachery. And thus it came about that Dumbicchi was enabled to entrench himself in a strongly fortified camp at Parama-kudi, and to commence plundering the whole of the surrounding country in defiance of the Governor's authority. But Kumâra Krishnappa was not to be provoked with impunity. He soon made all necessary arrangements both for the protection of his person and the capital and for the quelling of the rebellion : and showed unmistakably that if taken unawares, he was nevertheless quite equal to the occasion. His general Periya Kesavappa marched to Parama-kudi at the head of a detachment of troops, and invested the rebel camp ; but was unfortunately killed in action within a few days. The general's son was then appointed to act against the rebels with a large force, amounting it is said to 18,000 men and officered by thirteen chiefs. After sustaining some checks, he at last stormed the fort and took Dumbicchi, whose head was forthwith cut off, and sent to the king as a warning to other disaffected Pâleiyakârans. This formidable rebellion was thus nipped in the bud. But Kumâra Krishnappa was a politic prince, who knew when he could afford to be generous : and he treated the rebels' widows and two sons with marked kindness. The feud was of course confiscated but the village of Parama-kudi was granted to the children for their maintenance, and the elder of them was permitted to assume the title of Pâleiyakâran. .

Soon after this Kumâra Krishnappa heard that the king of Kandi had grossly insulted his name, being a friend of the rebel Dumbicchi and much annoyed by his execution ; and unable to endure the insult,



or possibly because he thought a foreign war and the hope of booty would greatly tend to keep his Pâleiyakârans and other dangerous classes in good humour, he put himself at the head of a large army officered by no less than fifty-two Pâleiyakârans and their relations and subordinates, and marched against the king of Kandi. He embarked at "the nine stones," a place so called as being the remains of the great bridge set up by Râma in his war with Râvana : and reaching the coast of Ceylon in safety, sent an ultimatum to the king of Kandi, which however was barren of results. He then began to move on in the direction of the enemy's capital. The king of Kandi despatched an army of 40,000 men commanded by four *Mantris* or ministers and eight *Désand'thas* or prefects of countries, to oppose the invaders : and this force was posted at Pattalam awaiting attack. After observing the position of the enemy, Kumâra Krishnappa sent forward his commander-in-chief at the head of a division of 20,000 of the best troops to attack him, and himself taking the command of the remainder of his forces judiciously kept them in the rear as a reserve. After some skirmishing a general engagement was brought about, attended with great loss on both sides, the result of which was entirely favorable to the Madura general ; who succeeded in taking a great number of prisoners, amongst whom were two of the ministers and five of the prefects. These were treated with great humanity : their wounds were dressed and medicines and separate tents were provided for the reception of the sick. In the course of a day or two the four *Mantris* undertook to procure from their king such reparation for the insult as the Madura ruler considered necessary ; in default of which they engaged to place themselves and their territories at the disposal of the invader. An embassy was accordingly sent to the capital of Kandi, which however proved altogether unsuccessful : and the king himself marched out to repel the invaders at the head of an army of 60,000 Cingalese and 8,000 Kaffers. A sanguinary battle took place soon afterwards, in which the king and ten of his near relatives fought with the utmost valour : but to no purpose as their undisciplined hordes were quite unable to cope with the steady and disciplined troops of Madura. At last the king of Kandi, after all his relations had been made prisoners, and every effort had been made to take him alive, was shot dead by an arrow aimed at him by Kumâra Krishnappa. Upon this the defeat became a rout, and when the sun set that day, Kandi was at the mercy of the conqueror. Kumâra Krishnappa took possession of the capital, and spent three days in it, during



which the funeral ceremonies of the dead king were performed with due magnificence, and his widows and family suitably provided for. He then appointed his brother-in-law, Vijaya Gôpâla Nâyakkan, viceroy of the conquered country, and returned to Madura in triumph.

I should here observe that the story of this subjugation of Kandi by the Madura governor is not to be found in the "History of the Karnataka governors," nor in any of the memoirs of the Poligars. Mr. Taylor says it is told only in one MS. called the *Singala dwipa cat'ha*, which is abstracted at page 183 of the Catalogue Raisonné. But it is there told in a manner so clear and straightforward, as to inspire great confidence in its truth. I have not been able to find anything in Upham's Mahâvansi &c., which appears to refer to it: and it certainly seems rather strange that the Portuguese should not have been alluded to by the writer of the memoir, unless indeed the 8,000 Kaffers were Portuguese. But I see nothing improbable in the story as it stands, and have therefore given it entire.

The Governor does not appear to have been troubled by any more émeutes, or to have engaged in any other wars after this. The Vijayanagar empire had been terribly shaken by the disastrous defeat of the Hindûs at Tali-kôta and the death (or abdication?) of Râma Râja in 1564; and tradition says that Arya Nâyaga, perceiving the impossibility of long preserving its northern portions, resolved to allow them to be annexed by the victorious Mahometans without a struggle, and if possible establish himself firmly in the southern provinces. These were evidently capable of yielding a goodly revenue, if properly administered; and they were not much exposed to Mahometan invasion. As Râma Râja died leaving no issue, Arya Nâyaga intended at first, it is said, to have himself crowned king of the southern countries; but he was laughed out of this project by a Guru, who pointed out to him that it was the business of a Vellâlan to till the soil rather than to wear a crown, and that men's prejudices would be shocked by seeing one of Arya Nâyaga's caste seated on the throne. He therefore contented himself with the following arrangement. The kingdom of Mysore was left in the hands of the then ruler of Srirang'ha-pattanam (Seringapatam) that of Tanjore was made over to a Nâyakkan named Vîra Râg'hava, and that of Madura to Kumâra Krishnappa; but the Muthali appointed himself commander-in-chief and prime minister of all the three countries, and resolved to exercise a kind of general superintendence over their governments. Having so arranged matters, he returned to Madura probably in the year



1566 : and finding that the country was in a tranquil state, sent for some of his relations and friends living in the Perunâdu of the Kânc̣hi district of the Tondamandala and made them reside on the fertile lands of Sôlavandân a village a few miles west of Madura. A fortress and three hundred houses were built for their protection and convenience. A temple was also erected : and a Guru was brought from Kânc̣hipura (Conjeveram) to officiate therein, and perform the services to which the Muthali's caste people were accustomed. Slaves, free pariahs, and artisans of all kinds were supplied to the new town in sufficient numbers, and nothing was omitted to be done that was considered necessary to the immigrants' comfort. This was in 1566. Other dependents of the great Muthali are said to have been placed in Nagari, others in Tirumangalam, Pattanêri, and other villages.

Arya Nâyaga having shown clearly by thus acting that it was his intention to reside permanently or at least principally in Madura, the happiest results followed. The hopes of the disaffected were completely crushed, all intrigues against the government ceased for the present, and the country began to enjoy undisturbed tranquillity.

There being thus no serious occupation for the Governor, he amused himself with building a town on the east of Palamcottah, which he called after himself Krishnapura : and he spent considerable sums in furnishing it with Siva and Vishnu temples, and streets for Brâhmans, and in building a *teppakulam* or sacred tank of a square shape paved and faced with granite. The new town being a great success, he built another of the same sort west of Tinnevely and named it Kadiyang Krishnapura. After a prosperous and on the whole peaceful rule of ten years he died in 1573.

He was succeeded by his two sons Krishnappa or Periya Vîrappa and Visvanât'ha II, who were permitted by Arya Nâyaga to rule the country with co-ordinate authority. No particulars are recorded from which the characters of these two Governors can be learnt : but probably their characters affected the happiness of the country either not at all or only in a very remote degree. We may be pretty sure, I think, that nothing important was done by them without express sanction from Arya Nâyaga ; and that they never attempted to offer the slightest opposition to his will. And as the country was in a peaceful and prosperous state, they could have seen no occasion to exert themselves greatly in its behalf. No doubt they passed their time very pleasantly and very idly within the walls of their palace, in the enjoyment of such sports and amusements as the times afforded.



The most, if not the only important event that happened during their joint tenure of power was the chastisement of a prince named the "Mâvilivâna Râja." Mr. Taylor has curiously enough suggested that the name given to this person was a corruption of Mahâbali-puram, and that he was king of the country round "the seven pagodas," south of Madras, the correct name of which was Mahâbali-puram. But it is perfectly clear from the name that the man was a descendant of the sons of Ab'hirâmi mentioned in page 83; and whilst living as was natural at Kâleiyâr Kôvil, was guilty of contumacious and rebellious conduct, probably on the strength of being a scion of the old Vilivânâthi family. The rebellion, if it amounted to so much, was quelled; and it does not appear to have disturbed the general peace of the country. But the particulars of it are not to be found in any of the McKenzie MSS. After this, Krishnappa and his younger brother were induced to turn their attention to the state of the defences of the kingdom on the northern frontier; and after strengthening the fortifications of Trichinopoly, they fortified Chidambara (Chellumbram). They also built many agrahâras for the Brâhmans.

We are not told when this joint governorship came to an end: but it is presumable that the younger brother died first. For when Krishnappa (or Periya Vîrappa) died in 1595, he was succeeded by his two sons Lingaya and Visvappa: and in some MSS. no mention at all is made of Visvanât'ha II.





## CHAPTER V.

*Lingaya and Visvanât'ha III.—The death of Arya Nâyaga.—Important results.—Extent of the Madura territory.—The Râyar Venkatapati Lord Paramount of Madura.—The murder of Kastûri.—Re-establishment of the Sêthupati.—Origin of the Marava dynasty.—Its antiquity.—The seven chiefs of the Mahâvansi.—History of the Sêthupatis.—The Governor dies leaving three sons, of whom the eldest succeeds him.—The state of Christianity.—Robert de Nobilibus.—He calls himself a Brôhman from Rome.—His success.—He is suspended for improper practices.—Sad results.—War with Mysore.—War with Tanjore.—The Virupâkshi Poligar.—The Râyar still interferes in the government of the country.—Misrule and corruption.—End of the reign.*

LINGAYA, known also by the name of Kumâra Krishnappa, and his brother Visvappa or Visvanât'ha III ruled together for a few years, doing probably much as their father and uncle had done before them; and then a very momentous event took place. This was the death of the great Arya Nâyaga Muthali in 1600, the results of which were the emancipation of the Nâyakkans from immediate control, and the at least partial independence of the Madura country. That this was a beneficial change there can be no question. The protector of the Nâyakkans had grown old and feeble; and his continued presence in Madura must have checked all desire for improvement on the part of her rulers, and prevented that rapid development of the resources of the country which was subsequently effected. At the same time, it must not be forgotten that it was entirely owing to his fostering care, that the young and ricketty state was enabled to survive its early troubles. Rebellion and disaffection would have soon brought back anarchy and desolation, but for the awe and respect which Arya Nâyaga's name everywhere inspired. And probably if he lived long enough, he lived not one moment too long.



At the time of his death, the Madura territories seem to have included the whole of the country between Cape Comorin on the south, the western Ghauts on the west, and the towns of Uttatûr and Valikondapura (Wolconda) on the north : and the Governor's treasury received supplies from every part of this very considerable territory. There was therefore no lack of such power as money can give to a state. And there was now not a single enemy, at home or abroad, likely to disturb the Nâyakkan's peaceable administration. The country was in a flourishing condition : and if the dynasty which ruled it proved very shortly after this to be unequal to the task of preserving it from dismemberment and ruin, it was only because the Nâyakkans were for the most part weak, indolent, and hopelessly vicious.

Although the removal of Arya Nayaga freed the Governors of Madura from that immediate control and supervision to which they had hitherto been subjected, they did not dare as yet to attempt to make themselves independent of their Lord Paramount in the north. An inscription on a stone which stands nearly in front of and close to the porch of the Perumâl Pagoda in the town of Madura shows that in the year 1602 Srî Bhûvanêka Vîra Srî Vîra Pratâpa Râjaya Râja Râja Paramêshwara Srî Vîra Venkata Mahâ Râyar was "the ruler of the world," but does not so much as mention the local rulers' names. And it must I think be presumed from this, not only that the abovenamed descendant of the old Vijayanagar family claimed to be the Lord Paramount of Madura after if not before the death of Arya Nâyaga ; but also that his supremacy was unhesitatingly and fully allowed. It appears from the preface to Mr. Campbell's Telugu grammar that Venkatapati Râyar began to rule in Pennakonda twenty-one years after the death of Râma Râyar in 1564, and reigned for twenty-eight years ; and doubtless this was the sovereign intended in the inscription. Venkatapati Râyar appears to have died or to have been deposed in 1613 ; and with him his dynasty is said to have come to an end. Before he died however his hold over Madura would appear to have been very considerably relaxed ; for an inscription of 1609 gives the name of the Nâyakkan Governor of the time, and does not mention the name or in any way indicate the existence of a Lord Paramount. It may be inferred therefore that the supremacy of the Pennakonda family was acknowledged only for a few years.

The younger of the two brothers, Visvappa or Visvanât'ha III,



probably did not survive Arya Nâyaga, or if he did it was only for a short time. The elder brother, Lingaya, died in 1602, leaving a son Muttu Krishnappa entitled to succeed him. But an uncle of this prince, one Kastûri Rangaya, being an ambitious man, usurped the now hereditary government; and this illegal act led to the commission of the first of the sanguinary crimes which disgrace the annals of the Nâyakkans. Some friends and adherents of Muttu Krishnappa murdered his uncle just one week afterwards, whilst he was engaged in praying in the *Santiyâna Mantapa* or hall of worship at Krishnapura, a small town on the north side of the Veigei. And Muttu Krishnappa thereupon became Governor.

With the exception of this crime, the one remarkable event of Muttu Krishnappa's governorship was the re-establishment of the ancient Marava dynasty of Sêthupatis or guardians of the Isthmus of Râmêshwara on the throne of Râmnâd. It is not quite clear how this came about: nor what was the actual extent and political position of the Râmnâd country at this time. From a comparison of the "History of the Karnataca Governors" with a short "account of the Sêthupatis" translated by Mr. Taylor, and with an historical memorandum kindly furnished to me by Ponnusâmi Têvan the present manager of the Râmnâd Zamindâri, it seems probable that in the time of Muttu Krishnappa the Râmnâd country, that is to say all the country between Madura and the sea coast, was under the management of two Commissioners appointed by the Governor of Madura; and that these officers were quite unequal to the task of keeping the dependency in order. Thick jungles had sprung up in every direction; the roads were infested with gangs of robbers; every village had its fort, and levied black mail from pilgrims passing on their way to the holy shrine at Râmêshwara; and nothing in the shape of revenue could be collected from the wild, untameable race who owned the cultivable lands. The Vairâgis, the lawless Vaishnava devotees from the north, who were accustomed to flock every year in thousands to Râmêshwara were daily petitioning the Governor, and clamouring for the restoration of the country to a Marava prince, entitled Sadeika Têvan Udeiyân Sêthupati, who was, or was supposed to be a direct descendant of the ancient Râmnâd stock, and who alone, it was believed, could keep the country in order and protect pilgrims and travellers from violence. And yielding at last to the importunate solicitations of these self-styled holy men, and probably being perfectly sensible of the advantage of making this



prince a friendly vassal in place of an angry enemy, the Governor somewhere about the year 1605 sent for him, and having satisfied himself as to his fitness to govern the dependency, had him crowned as Sêthupati in a town in the Râmnâd country called Pôkalûr with great pomp and ceremony; and at the same time made him chief of the seventy-two Pâleiyakârans. The newly-appointed Sêthupati was a man of energy and conduct, and soon gave the Governor cause to congratulate himself on having acted as he had. The waste lands were gradually reclaimed; robbery and violence were checked; and in a short time the country began to wear a new and healthful aspect. The towns of Râmnâd and Pôkalûr were fortified and improved. The important villages Vadakku-Vattakei, Kâleiyâr-Kôvil, and Pattamangalam were taken from refractory chiefs; and a considerable annual tribute was remitted to Madura, after allowing for all the expenses of the subordinate government and for the personal expenditure of the Sêthupati. Nor was this satisfactory state of things merely transitory. For Sadeika Têvan ruled his people for several years, firmly but with moderation; and when he died in 1621 (?), his son Kûttan was allowed to succeed him.

I think there can be but little doubt that such in substance were the circumstances in which the Sêthupati was restored. But the question naturally arises, how ancient and important was the territory which he thus gained? Professor Wilson has given in his catalogue (see vol. i, p. 195) an abstract of a manuscript in the McKenzie collection, from which it appears that the author of it understood the Maravas to be a tribe which had been originally transplanted from Ceylon, and of which certain members had been appointed Sêthupatis or custodians of the Isthmus of Râmêshwara, by Râma the hero. They were long subject to the Pândyas, but in the course of time became sufficiently powerful to shake off their yoke; and at last made their masters their servants; and they remained lords paramount of the Pândya kingdom for no less than eleven generations; and during three reigns ruled over the whole of the south of India. Finally they were driven back to the south of the river Kâvêri by the Kurumba prince of Alakâpuri, and Madura and Tanjore were taken from them by the officers of the Vijayanagar Râyar. Then again the appointment of Sêthupatis by Râma is expressly mentioned in Ponnusâmi Têvan's memorandum referred to above. And from the Karnatic history it clearly appears that there was already a Sêthupati in the time of Muttu Krishnappa. So too



in the Chronicle of the acts of the Sêthupatis translated by Mr. Taylor, at the end of his work, the O. H. MSS. it is stated that "In the early times when the Chakravertis flourished, seven persons "from among the inhabitants of this Râmnâd peninsular coast were "appointed in order to be its guardians. When thus through a long "and remote traditionary period they had continued for many "generations to guard it, one among the seven persons, the son of "Shethunga Deven, who was named Sadaica Devaiyen Udiyan "Sêthupati.....being the chief of the seven received authority to "rule this Râmnâd kingdom, &c." Lastly it appears from a paper read before the Royal Asiatic Society by Mr. Priaulx in the month of November 1860, and published in Vol. xviii, part II, of the R. A. S. Journal, that the writer, looking to the fact that according to the Mahâvansi the last of the three Tamil invasions of Ceylon which took place in the third and second centuries before Christ was under the leadership of seven chieftains; and looking to the fact of the silence of the Pândya Chronicles with regard to Pândya dealings with Ceylon; thinks it probable that these invasions were led by mere adventurers, and not by the generals of the Pândya kings. Supposing this ingenious suggestion to be one of truth, it would seem to be very probable that these seven adventurers, who are described in the Râjâvali more than once as coming from the Soly rata (Chôla country), were the seven chiefs whose existence is recorded in the Chronicle translated in Mr. Taylor's work, and had pushed their conquests north of their modern boundaries. And the probability is greatly increased by the circumstance that Sir Emerson Tennent states (so says the paper) that the Tamils who invaded Ceylon were ruled by a dynasty of Râjās who held their court at Nallûr, coupled with the fact that Ponnusâmi Têvan's memorandum expressly states that, at one time, the Sêthupatis made Vîrava Nallûr (one of the many towns in South India called Nallûr) their capital. This Vîrava Nallûr is situated near Râmnâd and the sea coast, and there can be no ground for supposing that Pândya kings ever made it their capital.

There is therefore a considerable amount of evidence which goes to support the claim to high antiquity put forward by the Râmnâd royal family: and I am not aware of the existence of any evidence which would tend to invalidate it. And seeing that Râmêshwara has been for centuries resorted to annually by large bodies of pilgrims,



and that this would have been simply impossible, unless some strong-handed prince or princes were ruling over the country in its neighbourhood, I think it may be pretty safely concluded that the principality of Râmnâd had been in existence for many centuries before Sadeika Têvan was made Sêthupati; and also that the explanation of his restoration given in Ponnusâmi Têvan's memorandum is not very far from the truth. This explanation is to the effect that Kula-B'hûshana, one of the last of the Pândyas who preceded Visvanât'ha Nâyakkan,—the title given does not occur in any history so far as I know—treacherously murdered Sadeika Têvan Udeiyân's grandfather, Jayatunga Rag'hunât'ha, through fear and jealousy of his daily increasing power; and that the Udeiyân, being a clever man, contrived to procure his restoration by making interest with the Vairâgis as mentioned above.

The story told in the "History of the Karnataca Governors" differs from this, though not very materially: and is to the following effect. A great part of the country east of the city of Madura was lying waste and inhabited only by robbers and cut-throats, when it occurred to the Governor to put it under the management of the headman of the village of Pôkalûr. The newly-created official was powerless at first to establish his authority: and rapine and murder went on much as before. But after a while, being energetic and having some influence amongst the rude tribes of the neighbourhood, he was enabled to afford protection to pilgrims passing by on their way to Râmêshwara. Amongst others he safely escorted the Governor's spiritual adviser (Guru); and thinking that he might possibly take something considerable by it, accompanied him all the way to the town of Madura on his return. By this means he obtained an interview with the Governor; and played his cards so well as to obtain a vaguely-worded grant of men and money, of which great use might be made by an active and clever man. He went back to Pôkalûr greatly pleased, and set to work at once to turn his good fortune to the best account. He built a mud fort round his village; reduced to submission the refractory tribes amongst whom he dwelt; and having managed to collect taxes over a small tract of country, got together a considerable sum of money which he took and made over to the Governor. This apparent humility and uprightness of conduct had the desired effect. A larger and more effectual grant was made; and the Udeiyân was enabled under its cover to exercise a still wider authority, and pay



still larger sums from time to time into his master's treasury. At last he had become so powerful, that the Governor was pleased or perhaps compelled to make over to him a larger slice of the country between Madura and the sea, and confer on him the title of "Sêthupati." More than this, the Udeiyân was actually anointed in Madura with holy water from the Ganges, and made king of the country granted to him : and afterwards went home to his capital, and lived in great state : though he by no means gave himself up to luxury. He built a strong mud fort at Râmnâd, and ruled with great vigour, collecting the taxes regularly and remitting his tribute to Madura with great punctuality.

So much only can be gathered at present with regard to the appointment of the Sêthupati by Muttu Krishnappa. As regards the history of the Sêthupatis of more ancient times, all the information that I have been able to obtain is derived from Ponnusâmi Têvan's memorandum, and is very inconsiderable in amount : but a short abstract of it may be not altogether devoid of interest.

It is stated that when Râma appointed the first Sêthupati, the Pândya regarded the appointment with favor, and granted him free of tribute all the jungly tracts of country adjoining the sea coast.

Afterwards, when the Chôla invaded the Pândya country and was about to defeat the king, Âthi Vîra Rag'hunât'ha Sêthupati drove him back with loss ; and he was rewarded for this service with the appointment of warden of Tondi harbour.

Afterwards, when the kings of Kanara and other countries invaded the Pândya's dominions and caused him great loss, Para Bîthi (?) Sêthupati came to the rescue and drove back the enemy. For this service he was given the title of "Establisher of the Pândya throne," and was granted the districts of Tiruchuli, Pallimadam and Tiruppûvanam.

After a long period, in the time of Varatunga Rag'hunât'ha some Telugu invaders drove the Chôla out of his kingdom. The Chôla came for help to the Pândya, and the Sêthupati was sent to repel the invaders. Their expulsion was successfully effected : and the Sêthupati was rewarded with the title of "Establisher of the Chôla country."

After many generations, in the time of Kulôttunga Sêthupati the Chôla invaded the Pândya country. He was driven back to Pattukôttei and Arundângi : and this portion of his kingdom was annexed



by the victorious Sêthupati, who thereupon assumed the title of "He who conquers countries seen, and never lets go countries conquered."

Samara Kôlâhala Rag'hunât'ha Sêthupati was sent by the Pândya to settle a boundary dispute between him and the Chôla. He executed his commission with fidelity, and was rewarded by the Chôla with the monopoly of the pearl fishery in the gulf of Manâar; whilst the Pândya conferred the following titles on him, namely, Râjaya Râja, Râja Paramêshwara, Râja Mârtânda, and Râja Gamb'hîra.

After this, when all the countries between Cape Comorin and the river Narmada were under the authority of the Râyar of Vijayanagar, and the countries north of the Narmada under that of the Bâdishâ (Pasha), a confederacy of Hindû kings was formed against the Mahometans by order of the Râyar; and amongst others the Sêthupati was sent by the Pândya, as his representative. The Sêthupati performed distinguished service: and the Chôla, who also took part in the war, ceded to the Sêthupati (apparently by order of the Râyar) the districts of Manâr-Kôvil, Thiruvârûr, and Thîvu-Kôttei. And the privilege of raising the monkey banner and the Garuda banner was bestowed upon him, as appears from the heraldic work the *Viruthâvali*.

At various times the capitals of the Sêthupatis have been Dêvapura or Râmêshwara, Tondi, Rag'hunât'hapura, and Vîrava Nallûr.

The above are the only facts set forth in the earlier portion of the memorandum. If it shows nothing else, it shows two important circumstances most clearly, viz:—

1. The Sêthupati was always a vassal of the Pândya: and there is no ground for the supposition that the Maravas were at one time the dominant race in the South of India.

2. The supremacy of the Râyar of Vijayanagar over all the kings of the south was more than nominal at the commencement of the sixteenth century.

It appears to me, however, that as far as it goes, the memorandum is worthy of great credence. Tested by the letters of the Madura Jesuits, that portion of it which gives the modern history of Râmânâd is on the whole fairly correct: and if the latter portion is found to be generally credible, we may suppose, nothing appearing to the contrary, that the early portion also contains much that is true.



We must now revert to the history of Madura. Besides the establishment or restoration of the Sêthupati, the only recorded acts of Muttu Krishnappa were the digging of sundry tanks for the benefit of worshippers, and the building of some Pagodas and *Agrahâras*. He also built a small town between Madura and Skanda-malei, which he called after himself Krishnapura, and the ruins of which (it is said) may still be traced. But his rule was very peaceful, disturbed by no rebellions or invasions: and the country continued to grow rich and prosperous. The Governor died about 1609 A. D., leaving three sons, Muttu Vîrapa, Tirumala and Kumâra Muttu.

Before passing on to another reign, it will be necessary to notice here briefly the state of Christianity in the Madura kingdom towards the end of the 16th, and at the beginning of the 17th century. From a letter written by Father Albert Laerzio to the General of his society, dated 20th November 1609, it appears that there was at that time a church in Madura, resorted to by the Paravas, a caste of fishermen who lived on the sea coast and had been originally converted by Francis Xavier. Being tributary to the King of Madura—the title of Governor or Superintendent appears to have been dropt—some of the Paravas had occasion to visit the capital from time to time; and a church had been built for their use by permission of the King, who was in alliance with the Portuguese, and placed under the care of Father Fernandez. This Missionary soon began to see that, if he confined his attention to the Christians who occasionally visited Madura, he would have little or no work to do: and he therefore attempted to convert the Vadukans or Telugu people who had settled in Madura. But in spite of his zeal and austerity of life, which could not but command respect and admiration, he failed altogether in the attempt. The Vadukans would not listen to him: and he made not a single convert. The reason of this was the abhorrence in which the Portuguese were held by all classes of Hindûs, as being men who ate the flesh of cows, drank intoxicating liquors, and mingled freely with the vilest pariahs. The Portuguese or Parangis as they were contemptuously called, were held to be the worst and filthiest sinners who had ever polluted the country by their presence: and it was simply impossible that a preacher suspected of being connected with them, however remotely, could in any way influence the minds of the idolaters of Madura, or even overcome the prejudice and loathing which his efforts were sure to excite. And thus it was that for fourteen years Father Fernandez worked on in vain. But



at last things began to mend. In December 1606 Robert de Nobilibus visited Madura: and his master-mind at once comprehended the difficulty, and devised the means of overcoming it. And then, fired with a noble zeal for Christianity and emulous of the heroism of St. Paul, he resolved to dedicate his whole life to one object, and to become himself a Hindû in order to save Hindûs. Accordingly, with the consent of the Archbishop of Cranganore, he represented to the Brâhmans of Madura that he was not a Parangi, nor a Portuguese, but a Râja or Prince from Rome and a *Sanniyâsi* or religious devotee. And he began to live from that day forth the life which is commonly lived by Hindû ascetics of the strictest and most reputable sort. A little rice, a little milk, and some bitter vegetables formed the single meal which he ate each day: a long yellowish linen robe, a veil, a turban, and a pair of clogs were his only garments. In token of his religion and caste he wore a cross suspended from his neck by five threads, three of which were of gold and symbolized the Trinity, whilst the other two were of silver and symbolized the body and soul of our Lord.

Besides adopting this distinctive diet and apparel, the Missionary withdrew himself from all intercourse with Father Fernandez and other priests; and having obtained a suitable piece of ground in the Brâhmans' quarter, upon which to build a church and presbytery, lived there immersed in study and in the strictest seclusion, attended upon by Brâhman servants alone and observing in the minutest particulars the customs of those in whose midst he sojourned. His fame was soon noised about. Every one came to hear of the foreign ascetic who lived like a hermit amongst the inhabitants of the busy capital. Curiosity compelled enquiry: and Hindûs of all classes thronged the gates of the Missionary's house, in the hope of being permitted to see and converse with him. At first the servants' invariable reply to the questions of visitors was to the effect that, "the master was "meditating upon God: he could not receive visits, he must not be "disturbed." After a time, a few visitors were permitted to approach the recluse, and found him seated cross-legged on a settee covered with red cloth, before which were spread a carpet and a handsome mat. On entering the reception room, all were required to raise their joined hands above their heads and formally lower them towards the ground with a deep bow. Even the greatest nobles of the court conformed to this rule: whilst those who wished to become disciples went through this performance three times, and finally



prostrated themselves full length on the ground. The few who were so fortunate as to obtain an interview were charmed with the affability and politeness of the distinguished teacher of religion; and at the same time astonished at the purity of his Tamil accent, the profoundness of his oriental learning, and the versatility of his intellect. Within a very few days his popularity was firmly established in Madura; great numbers of visitors were received; and the King sent him repeated invitations to come to the palace, which were declined on the ground that the ascetic ought to keep within doors, praying and meditating on God, and should not go forth in public where the purity of his eyes might peradventure be soiled by lighting upon a woman.

His efforts having been so far crowned with success and native prejudice having been overcome, Robert de Nobilibus began to turn his attention more particularly to the work of conversion. He soon discovered that his task was by no means one of hopeless difficulty; and his first attempt in this direction produced the happiest results. He argued with a clever Guru or spiritual adviser for four or five hours a day during a period of twenty days, at the end of which the heathen confessed himself vanquished and became a convert. More than this, he became an active preacher of the gospel: and the ice having been fairly broken, conversion followed conversion with marvellous rapidity. Brâhmans, priests, Râjas, courtiers, professors, Nâyakkans, men of the best castes and most respectable professions, flocked to the presbytery and humbly implored the great Roman Guru to point out to them the way of salvation. Even Dumbicchi Nâyakkan, the chief of all the Tottiyans from Veipâr to Vijayanagar, of the most powerful clan then resident in the country, was anxious to become a disciple: and was only prevented by fear of the King's displeasure. The progress of Christianity was everywhere rapid and decided and there appeared to be every reason to hope that within a few years heathenism would fall into decay.

However Robert was not destined to carry every thing before him. The Gurus who had lost the fees customarily paid to them by their disciples, but withheld by those disciples when converted to the Christian faith, grew angry at their losses; other Gurus became alarmed; the chief priest of the great pagoda claimed the land on which the new church was being built; and clouds of persecution began to gather round the mission. However the storm passed over for a while: and the church found a powerful protector in a



nobleman named Hermê-katti, who, though he did not become a convert, largely patronized Robert and took great delight in his society.

But a worse thing than persecution arrested the progress of Christianity in Madura. This was the suspension of Robert de Nobilibus' ministration by a peremptory order from his superiors in Europe. It seems that Father Fernandez, piqued by Robert withdrawing himself from all intercourse with him, and perhaps too sincerely believing that Robert's mode of working was not in accordance with the genius of his religion, had made certain representations in high quarters which seriously affected Robert's character. And others at Goa, influenced doubtless by mean and petty motives, had accused the great missionary of debasing Christianity in the eyes of the world by permitting his converts to retain many of their heathenish customs, and by himself adopting certain practices wholly inconsistent with the character and position of a Christian pastor. The practices and customs of which the retention and adoption were principally complained of were the following:—

1. Robert's adoption of the heathenish title of Guru.
2. His constant denial that he was a Parangi.
3. His adoption of certain Tamil superstitious terms and phrases, and of certain hybrid and barbarous words, as equivalents of the peculiar terms, phrases, and words by which the doctrines of his faith are distinguished and formulated.
4. His permitting his converts to wear their hair in the fashion peculiar to Hindûs; to wear the sacred thread round the neck; to mark their foreheads with sandal-wood paste and other substances; to perform ablutions on various occasions; and to do many other things customary from time immemorial amongst all classes of Hindûs.

Robert was suspended from his office after he had worked for about five years, and when his mission was flourishing to a greater extent, than he had ever ventured to anticipate: and for ten long years he was not permitted to resume his labors. This was a very severe blow to Christianity, and it is probably impossible to say at this time, how disastrous its effects may not have been. Had Robert de Nobilibus been allowed to carry out uninterruptedly the great plan which he mapped out for himself, it is within the bounds of possibility that he might have converted in a few years the great majority of think-



ing men in Madura and in the country dependent upon that capital : but his strenuous labors were cut short and he was succeeded by men in no way comparable to him in ability and enterprise, and who were moreover fettered by a fear of responsibility such as he had never for one moment felt.

Muttu Virappa, the eldest son of the late King of Madura—I shall henceforth use the term King in place of Governor—was crowned probably in 1609, and reigned until the end of 1622 or beginning of 1623.

Nothing very certain is known with regard to the events of his reign. In the early part of it he was at war with Tanjore ; and there was also some fighting with the Mysoreans : but the results of these hostilities do not clearly appear. It seems probable however that they were not very important. From a history of the Virupākshi Poligars, a translation of which is to be found in Captain Ward's Survey Report, it appears that about this time, the north-west portion of the Madura country was ravaged by a body of horsemen commanded by a Mahometan ; and that the Poligars of the neighbourhood united their forces and drove back the invader after he had penetrated as far as Dindigul. The Virupākshi Poligar is said to have specially distinguished himself on this occasion, and to have been rewarded with the "Pâthei-Kâval" or office of warden of the high roads in the neighbourhood of his territory. It also appears from an historical memoir to be found in Mr. Taylor's O. H. MSS., that about this time one Mukilan came from Mysore and besieged the fort of Dindigul ; that he was defeated and driven away by the eighteen Dindigul Poligars under the leadership of Poligar Nadukat-talei Chinna Kâtthira Nâyakkan ; and that this Poligar was confirmed in his position as chief of the Dindigul Poligars and keeper of the Fort, and given the honorable title of The Chinna-Meistûrân or the young Mysorean. There can be but little doubt, I think, that these meagre notices of invasion are trustworthy. And it is presumable that the defeat of the invaders was sufficiently marked to prevent them from again trying their fortune in the Madura country during a period of some years.

It is noticeable that in Captain Ward's translation the Râyar is said to have ordered the expulsion of the invaders by the Poligars, inasmuch as the mention of this fact points clearly to a belief that the Lord Paramount of Madura had not yet ceased to interfere directly



in the government of the country. Probably this was the last occasion on which he so interfered.

The Church underwent some slight persecution during this reign. It was openly said that the austerity of life practised by the priests at Madura was discontinued by them to some extent at Cochin and other places : and the old accusation that they were nothing more nor less than Parangis was revived.

From one or two hints contained in the few letters written by Jesuits at this time which have come down to us, it may be inferred that nothing very important took place during Muttu Virappa's reign, and also that the King allowed his favorites to tyrannize over the people unchecked. But, as stated above, no certain information can be given on these and other points : and we must pass on to the next reign, during which the Nâyakkan dynasty both reached its greatest height of power and suddenly began to fall into decay.





## CHAPTER VI.

*The great Tirumala.—An accident causes him to make Madura his capital.—His sickness.—His dream.—His vow —Great public works.—Madura unsuited for a capital.—Tirumala determines to make himself independent.—Weakness of the Empire.—War with Mysore.—Râmappayya.—Cabal against him.—Tirumala's generosity.—Robert de Nobilibus resumes his labors.—Persecution.—The Kallans.—Râmnâd affairs.—The Dalavây Séthupati and the Tambi.—Tirumala sends Râmappayya against the Dalavây.—Râmappayya's conduct.—His causeway.—Bravery of the Maravans.—Death of Râmappayya.—The Dalavây imprisoned : and restored.—The Tambi murders him.—Tirumala divides the dependency.—It is re-united.—Vîra Bhôga Vasanta Râyar.—Tirumala changes his policy.—Death of the Râyar.—His son declares war.—Confederacy against him.—Tirumala enters into an alliance with Golkonda.—Miserable fall of the Râyar.—Golkonda attacks the Nâyakkans.—Siege of Gingi.—Tirumala's false policy.—He submits to the Mahometans.—His cruelty to his subjects.—Unpatriotic conduct.—The Mysorean invasion.—The Séthupati's fidelity.—Treachery.—The Mysoreans utterly routed.—The "hunt for noses."—Tirumala dies.—Circumstances of his death.—He was not a Christian.—Statements of the Jesuits.—Tirumala's character.*

The successor of Muttu Vîrappa was the Maha Râja Mânya Râja Srî Tirumala Sevari Nâyani Ayyalu Gâru, the greatest without exception of all the rulers of Madura in modern times. He appears to have succeeded to the throne, and to have been crowned king of Madura in the month of January 1623, when he was between thirty and forty years of age. And his long and glorious reign extended over a period of thirty-six years.



Before attempting to describe the principal events of Tirumala's reign, it will be proper to observe that the circumstance of his making the town of Madura his capital seems to have been purely the result of accident, or, as the Brâhmans would say, was owing to a special interposition of Providence in the Brâhmans' behalf. Before he came to Madura to be crowned, the Court had been held at Trichinopoly for some ten or twelve years: and he doubtless would have continued to reside there permanently, had not the following event occurred. He had been suffering for a long time from a severe attack of catarrh. The royal physicians were wholly unable to effect a cure; and the great gods of the Kâvêri, Rang'ha Nâyaka and Jambukêshwara, either would not or could not help him in his distress. Whilst he was on the march to Madura, his sickness waxed worse and worse, until at last he could hardly bear the fatigue of travelling. He halted for a while near Dindigul; and as he was sleeping uneasily in his tent, the god Sundarêshwara and the goddess Mînâkshi appeared to him in a vision, and declared that, if he would only make Madura his capital and permanently reside there, they would cure his malady. And having said so much, they appeared to give him sacred ashes of which he was to swallow part, and with the remainder rub his body. Tirumala awoke out of this dream just before dawn: and calling together the Brâhmans and others in attendance upon his person, told them what he had seen and heard. They very naturally advised him to obey the clearly expressed will of the gods, and accordingly he vowed then and there that not only would he make Madura his head-quarters, if cured of his disease, he would also expend five lacs of *pons*, or £100,000 in sacred works. Immediately afterwards whilst he was leisurely cleaning his teeth, as is usual with all Hindûs in the early morning, he felt the disease leave him. Overjoyed at this, he determined to devote his life thenceforth to the worship and service of the gods of Madura, and to adopt in its integrity that faith, of which sacred ashes and the five letters (Na-Ma-Si-Va-Ya) are the symbols, namely the Saiva faith.

Having come to Madura and received the sceptre "in the presence of the goddess Mînâkshi," he became sensible of a continued daily improvement in his bodily health: and gratefully set about the fulfilment of his vow, and the erection of various great buildings. Public works of beauty and utility were vigorously pushed forward in all directions. Cunning artificers were fetched from distant countries, great quarries of fine granite and the beautiful black Madura marble



were opened out ; whole forests of timber were cut down ; and mountains of the finest bricks were burned. In a few years' time the outer portions of the great temple were thoroughly renovated, and the capital was filled with new streets and handsome buildings. Costly jewellery was manufactured in abundance for the adornment of the principal idols ; the richest fabrics were made into clothes to cover them ; and huge cars of carved ivory and wood were built for their conveyance. An enormous brick and stone palace was built, and furnished with unprecedented luxury and splendour ; and thousands of horses and elephants were purchased and richly caprisoned, in order to swell the King's pomp and add to his fame among men.

Owing to this great expenditure of money and activity Madura soon became rich and prosperous once more ; and was enabled to win for herself a place among the cities of South India, which her geographical position and physical resources by no means entitled her to hold. Had it not been for the accident of Tirumala's sickness, and the dream which no doubt helped to bring about its cure, there can be no question but that Trichinopoly, not Madura, would always have been the busy capital of the Nâyakkans of the south. Madura is not suited by nature to be a fortress, and could never have withstood a protracted and skilful siege. The town lies in the middle of a large plain, has no rock for a citadel, and is protected by no sea, river, or morass. It depended at this time solely upon the protection afforded by its high double-wall, wide ditch, and seventy-two bastions. And although these works were very solidly constructed, they covered far too much ground to admit of a good defence being made by a small body of men. The town was almost a square with sides each nearly a mile in length, and all equally exposed to attack : and it is easy to see that nothing less than a large army could have effectually guarded its fortifications. Indeed Visvanât'ha and Arya Nâyaga must have recognized this necessity, when they made it the special duty of the feudal chiefs to defend each one bastion and no more. And it is very possible that Periya Virappa became alive to the inferiority of his capital as a stronghold and basis of operations, after the rebellions of Dumbicchi and the Vilivânâthi Râja. We are told that after conquering the latter, he built a fort near Trichinopoly, and fortified Chidambara : and it seems not improbable that he then deserted Madura, and began to reside permanently in a fortress that promised him more security.



Not only was Madura inferior to Trichinopoly as a place of defence, it was also inferior as a place of residence; and more particularly in the eyes of a native. For whereas the latter town is watered by the Kâvêri, a magnificent well-filled river during part of the year, and one that rarely completely dries up; the former has a river only in exceptional seasons, and then only for a few days at a time. Besides this the epidemic fever of the country round Madura is much dreaded, and with good cause. For these and other reasons most of the Nâyakkan kings were unwilling to live in Madura; and we find that Trichinopoly was supposed by Orme and others to be the only capital of the southern country. On the death of the king his successor appears to have come to Madura as a matter of form to be crowned: and probably Madura continued to be called the capital, and was always visited from time to time by her kings, as being an especially holy place, and the abode of Brâhmans and very powerful gods, whose anger it would be in the last degree impolitic to provoke by indifference and neglect. Moreover her antiquity and the splendour and wealth of her temples would prevent her from rapidly decaying or sinking into anything like obscurity. But things would have been vastly different had not the great Tirumala made Madura his capital and done so much for her: and probably Madura would have sunk to the level of ordinary Hindû towns.

Tirumala Sevari was not only a liberal and sumptuous prince, to be remembered as a charitable king and builder of great buildings. His reign was rendered memorable by the many wars which he waged, and the formidable rebellions which he crushed. And it was Tirumala who for the first time shook off the Vijayanagar yoke. It appears from some of the letters of the Jesuit priests, that Tirumala determined to make himself independent almost immediately after he began to reign; and that he made considerable preparations for war, in anticipation of the probable consequences of his rebellion. He massed large bodies of troops, as many as 30,000 it is said, in Trichinopoly: and residing there for a while personally supervised the reparation and strengthening of its fortifications. Besides this, he built two new fortresses on his northern frontier: and he did not return to Madura, until he had placed his kingdom in a state of defence as complete as circumstances would permit. Nevertheless, great alarm was felt by the people; and there was throughout the country a restless and excited spirit, which the general prevalence of famine by no means tended to allay. However



in the course of a few years this state of things passed away, when it was found that the dreaded armies of the Râyar did not make their appearance: and men began to believe that Madura would be left unpunished. Looking to the fact that Tirumala found it necessary to put forth all his energy in preparing for invasion, and that after all no invasion took place, it may be inferred that at this time the Vijayanagar Empire was convulsed with internal struggles, and that the termination of the Pennakonda dynasty in 1613 had given rise to protracted civil wars. And this inference is in perfect harmony with the brief notice of the state of the Empire in 1630, contained in the memoir given in the preface to Campbell's Telugu Grammar.

The first war in which Tirumala engaged appears to have been a war with Mysore. The Râja of that country, Cham Râj Udeiyâr, tempted probably by reports of the boundless wealth and prosperity of the country of the Nâyakkans, and possibly being anxious to wipe out the disgrace of the defeat which his country had sustained a few years previously, determined to invade and desolate the Madura kingdom. And with this view he directed his General, Harasura-Nandi-Râj to collect a large army; lead it through the Gazalhati pass; and having gained possession of all the country below the ghauts, take Dindigul by storm; and then return home with as much booty and glory as might be. Acting upon these instructions, the Mysorean General collected troops, and throwing them promptly upon the principal fortress on the north-west frontier of Madura, soon made himself master of a considerable extent of country: and then hurrying to Dindigul by forced marches essayed to carry that important stronghold by storm. But in this attempt he was foiled. The Madura Dalavây, or Commander-in-chief and Prime Minister, the famous Râmappayya, had by this time levied some troops, and marching to Dindigul rallied round him the panic-stricken Poligars of the neighbourhood, whom he compelled to furnish each his contingent of money and men. Rang'hana Nâyakkan of Dindigul contributed 7,000 gold Pons or rather more than 14,000 Rupees; and others contributed in proportion to their means. After a short time Râmappayya was in a position to offer the enemy battle, which being accepted, he defeated him with great loss and obliged him to retreat ignominiously through the pass by which he came. Râmappayya followed up his success with alacrity, and driving the enemy before him, in his turn invaded Mysore, and even went so far



as to besiege the capital, or at all events one of the principal fortresses of that country.

He was on the point of carrying it by storm, when a peremptory order came from the King recalling him from his command. It seems that the courage and energy of the Dalavây had as usual caused amongst the other members of the government considerable jealousy and alarm; and the basest representations had been made against him, to which the King had unhappily felt compelled in a measure to give ear. Râmappayya was placed therefore in a very difficult dilemma. If he obeyed, there would be a terrible disappointment for himself; great loss of prestige and possibly danger, for his country. If on the other hand he disobeyed the royal mandate, his traducers at head-quarters would point triumphantly to the proof of their lying statements; and perhaps decapitation or imprisonment would await him on his return. However he had great confidence in the King's love of justice and good sense: and he resolved on doing what in his opinion seemed clearly to be his duty, namely to complete his work and subdue the enemy. So he vigorously pushed on the siege: and in the course of a few days the place was taken. Then after a short delay, he marched back to Madura at the head of his victorious army, and accompanied by a numerous body of exultant Poligars: and having struck terror into the hearts of his enemies, sent his friend Rang'hana Nâyakkan in advance to smooth the road to the royal favor; disbanded his troops; and threw himself unreservedly upon the King's mercy.

Tirumala, like a wise prince, received him with great kindness; and instead of punishing loaded him with honors and rewards. Rang'hana Nâyakkan also was highly complimented; and the exemption from tribute which he had enjoyed for many years was confirmed for all time. The results of this politic conduct were precisely what might have been anticipated. The King gained the entire confidence of an able and loyal Dalavây; Rang'hana Nâyakkan became a most useful and devoted adherent; and the army attained its highest possible degree of efficiency. The government was strong and vigorous: and its inherent unsoundness was for the moment completely hidden from view.

Meanwhile the Madura mission was by no means inactive. Profiting by the comparative tranquillity of the country, and protected in a great measure by the liberal policy of the King, the Jesuit fathers



had established congregations in every direction. And a new spirit had been infused in them by Robert de Nobilibus having resumed his labors. In June 1623 he had come to the conclusion that the authorities at Rome were no longer openly hostile to him : and he resolved to gird up his loins once more for the work to which he felt himself called. Taking up his pilgrim's staff he quitted Madura, and began to preach the gospel to the inhabitants of all the more important towns of the kingdom. First he visited Trichinopoly, thence he went north to Sendamangalam ; after this he sojourned for a while in Salem. In this way he made many converts, some of whom were amongst the most powerful chiefs in the country ; and stimulated by his success other Missionaries devoted themselves to the work of proselytizing with almost equal ardour and perseverance. But there were many obstacles in their way, and the persecution which they encountered at the hands of Brâhmans and others, though not of a very active or appalling nature, was nevertheless sufficient at times to thwart their best directed efforts, and prevent that wide spread of Christianity for which the minds of the people at large appeared to be fully prepared. In the town of Madura, as was natural seeing that it was one of the most ancient and important strongholds of Hindûism, so great obstruction was offered to Christianity that the Missionaries appear to have despaired of being able to largely benefit it : and after a time they found it more profitable to establish themselves amongst people less sophisticated, more willing to learn what they had to teach. They found the residents of Trichinopoly, who were for the most part poor and of low castes, very willing to hear their message ; and a flourishing congregation was soon established in that town. But its extension was successfully opposed : and after a period of unremitting persecution the Missionaries in charge of it were compelled to retire into the neighbouring jungles and seek protection from the Kalla or robber chiefs in possession of them. These men of blood and rapine, the terror of travellers and unprotected villages, seem to have listened readily to the preaching of the gospel and to have laid aside, for a time at least, the savage and lawless mode of life to which they were accustomed. Neat and trim churches sprang up here and there in the midst of their wild retreats, and the long spears with which they were used to attack the trembling merchant, and drive off herds of plundered cattle, were slowly exchanged for the plough and the sickle. And it was probably in consequence of



this change in their habits, that Tirumala granted the Kallans considerable tracts of land for their cultivation, free of tax.

A few years after the war with Mysore the state of the Râmnâd country became such, as to call for the active interference of the King. The Sêthupati Kûttan, who it will be remembered was the son of and succeeded the first Sêthupati about 1621, reigned prosperously for fourteen years, and died in 1635 leaving a son Sadeika Têvan II, better known by his title of the Dalavây Sêthupati, and a daughter, Gangâyî Nâtchiyâr. The Dalavây mounted the throne of Râmnâd, and reigned in quiet for two or three years; when for some unexplained reason he publicly announced his intention of appointing his adopted son Rag'hunât'ha Têvan his successor. Upon this an illegitimate son of the deceased Kûttan, known to history only by the familiar name of the "Tambi," or younger brother, openly opposed the Sêthupati, and declared his intention of ousting him from his seat on the throne. Coming to Madura he intrigued with some of the ministers, and so managed matters as to persuade the King to favor his pretensions, and appoint him Sêthupati in place of the Dalavây. The newly appointed Sêthupati then returned to Râmnâd with a large escort, and endeavoured to induce the Dalavây to submit quietly to the will of his lord. But the Sêthupati was a man of spirit; and had no idea of resigning his sceptre without a struggle. Relying on the justness of his cause, and perhaps too on the probability of the enemies of the commander-in-chief throwing obstacles in the way of that officer, should he attempt to march against Râmnâd with an army sufficient to reduce it, he boldly declared that he would never give up his rights, and bade the Tambi and his patrons do what seemed good in their eyes. On hearing of this, Tirumala perceived at once that he had placed himself in a false position: from which there was only one way of successfully extricating himself. Right or wrong, his orders must be obeyed. And as the Dalavây had refused to obey them, he must be visited without delay with the penalty of disobedience. Accordingly instructions were forthwith issued to the several Poligars to furnish large bodies of troops for the chastisement of the rebel: and Râmappayya was directed to march against Râmnâd, and bring the Dalavây to Madura, dead or alive. The gallant Rang'hana Nâyakkan was sent with him as his second in command; and every precaution was taken to ensure speedy and decisive success. The two Generals as was expected, acted with energy and boldness; and Râmnâd was



stormed after a somewhat protracted siege, and after a series of battles had been fought with varying success. But the rebellious Sêthupati was not yet beaten. He withdrew to the island of Pâmbam : and having entrenched himself in a fortified camp, endeavoured to prevent the enemy forcing a passage across the shallow channel which separated the island from the mainland. It is said too, that he procured the assistance of a number of Europeans, who came from Ceylon and Cochin in five vessels. The only direct evidence of this fact, is a statement in a poem called Râmappayya noticed by Mr. Taylor, and by Professor Wilson in his descriptive catalogue : but the probability of the story is strengthened by a statement contained in a Missionary's report of 1653 to the effect that before that time the Maravas had successfully encountered European troops on the coast. For if Europeans had found the Maravas to be foemen worthy of their steel, the circumstance of their entering into an alliance with the Sêthupati, in the hope of ultimately gaining a hold on his country, is readily intelligible and in perfect agreement with the usual course of Indo-European politics.

However the General in command was a man quite equal to an emergency of this sort. His engineers threw a strong causeway across the channel : and in a few days' time he was enabled to march his troops over. But at the moment when victory was about to crown his efforts, Râmappayya suddenly fell sick and died. It is said that the Sêthupati caused his death by magic ; and I presume this means that he caused him to be poisoned. But whether he was poisoned or not, the death of the great Dalavây brought no profit to the Sêthupati. Siva Râmaya, the son-in-law of the deceased, succeeded to the command, and proved himself well worthy of the post. In a very short time he utterly defeated the rebel : and took him and one of his nephews, Tanakkâ Têvan, prisoners : and carried them to Madura, where they were thrown into a dungeon and loaded with chains.

Whilst the Dalavây Sêthupati languished in prison, the Tambi endeavoured to induce the Maravas of Râmnâd to submit quietly to his authority. But in vain. There was a strong personal feeling against him, which was no doubt strengthened not a little by a keen appreciation of the injustice of which Tirumala had manifestly been guilty. And the Dalavây had strong supporters in his kinsmen and friends. The Tambi soon discovered that he had undertaken a hopeless task. The whole country had risen to arms. The roads had become infest-



ed once more with robbers. And the collection of the revenue was an impossibility. Whilst he hesitated, undecided how to act, Rag'hunâtha Têvan and his younger brother, Nârâyana Têvan, the nephews of the Dalavây, placed themselves at the head of some troops, and openly declared themselves to be the masters of Râmnâd. Upon this the Tambi retreated to Madura : and having made the King acquainted with the state of the dependency, requested to be furnished with troops and money. But his request could not be granted. Whole armies of Vairâgis or religious devotees of the Vaishnava faith, had come from the countries of the north as usual to worship at Râmêshwara, and had together with many other kinds of pilgrims been disappointed of the fruits of their wearisome journeyings by the disordered state of the Râmnâd country ; and accordingly they had for some time clamorously demanded of the King the restoration of the captive Dalavây. By persistently importuning and petitioning him, they at last effected their object. The Dalavây was permitted to return to Râmnâd in triumph : and the Tambi was strictly enjoined to keep the peace.

After this the Dalavây reigned for five or six years in peace : and his country had begun to recover from the effects of Râmappayya's invasion and the subsequent disturbances, when the Tambi again conspired against the Sêthupati ; murdered him ; and attempted to mount the throne about the year 1645. The principal Maravas however refused to obey him : and the country was once more menaced with all the horrors of civil warfare ; when Tirumala interfered before things had gone too far. Being of opinion that the only way of ending these troubles was by giving each of the principal claimants of the right to govern the principality a certain amount of territory and power, he resolved to divide the Râmnâd kingdom into three portions : and about the year 1646 the sub-division containing the capital was made over to Rag'hunâtha Têvan, whilst Sivagangei was allotted to the Tambi ; and Tiruvâdânei to Tanakkâ Têvan and Nârâyana Têvan, the two younger brothers of Rag'hunâtha Têvan, conjointly. The power of the Sêthupati was thus apparently broken : and Tirumala hoped that the unpleasant Râmnâd question was once for all settled. But in this he was mistaken. Tanakkâ Têvan died shortly afterwards : and Rag'hunâtha Têvan took advantage of the occasion to annex his country to his own. And there was every probability of his coming into collision with the Tambi again, when, to the great comfort of the Madura government, that troublesome



and unscrupulous intriguer suddenly died. In consequence of this, Rag'hunât'ha Têvan became without difficulty sole master of the whole of the three sub-divisions. And as he had shortly before, in conjunction with the Tambi, taken the towns of Manârkôvil, Pattu-kôt-tei, Divu-kôttei, Arundângi and Tiruvârûr from the Tanjore kingdom, the territories of Ramnâd were now more extensive than they had been for a very long time.

About the year 1653 the whole country was thrown into a state of great nervous excitement by the spreading in every direction of one of the mysterious and extraordinary rumours, which in eastern lands spring up from time to time, no one knows where or how, and after causing much speculation and alarm in the minds of even the wisest, suddenly die out at last of sheer exhaustion. It had been confidently predicted by several of those idle impostors who roam about from village to village, singing lewd songs and begging alms in God's name, that within a few days' time there would come from the north an infant Emperor of divine birth, who would upset all existing institutions, and usher in a millennium of peace, plenty and happiness. And this prediction was soon believed by Hindus of all classes. If any man was bold enough to laugh at the folly of his neighbours, and to expose the falsehood of those who deceived them, he was speedily silenced by frightful curses and threats of God's wrath: and in a short time the religious mendicants had obtained universal credence for their story, and had collected large sums of money from their dupes for the use, as they said, of the divine Saviour of the peoples. After a while, the news was bruited about that the infant and his mother had reached Bangalore and were on their way to Madura, and the greatest excitement prevailed. Every one was burning with the desire to see the distinguished foreigners: and many of the Poligars publicly announced their readiness to pay them tribute. But the Saviour never came. It was true that a certain woman and a certain child had been brought to Bangalore by the propagators of the rumour, and vast multitudes had gone thither to pay their respects and offer presents to the Emperor: but after squeezing all that was to be got out of the pretenders, the Mahometan rulers of Bangalore had cut off their heads, and ordered their followers to disperse without a moment's delay. Even then the illusion was not altogether dispelled; and by declaring that the infant, although killed for the moment, would presently rise again from the dead and do all that had been promised in his behalf, the



promoters of the grand scheme contrived to plunder for sometime longer a by no means inconsiderable portion of the people of the Madura kingdom. The writer of the letter in which this extraordinary imposture is described has not recorded the name of the infant prodigy ; but I have no doubt it was Vira B'hôga Vasanta Râyar, whose miraculous birth and awful reign have been so frequently prophesied, and were expected in the south no farther back than the year 1866 by large numbers of natives, many of whom were men of some education and position.

We have now come to the last and by far the most important period in Tirumala's reign. Having watched the course of events in South India for many years, the King resolved at last to abandon entirely the policy of isolation which his predecessors had hitherto been compelled to pursue ; to enter into alliances with foreign powers ; to take part in the political movements which were agitating the Peninsula ; and if possible to raise Madura to a far higher position than she had as yet filled in the eyes of the Hindû world. As a first step, it was of course necessary to sever the connection between his country and that of his Lord Paramount, the Emperor of Vijayanagar, or the Narasinga as he was styled, and to render Madura in every sense free and independent. It will be remembered that at the very commencement of his reign Tirumala had omitted to pay tribute to the successors of Venkatapati Râyar ; and that as far as is known no evil consequences flowed from his revolt. But at a later period, when and under what circumstances I have been unable to discover, the great Nâyakkan was compelled to acknowledge once more the supremacy of the sovereign power : and towards the close of his reign, though not actually paying tribute, he was nevertheless in the custom of annually sending an embassy with valuable presents and compliments to the court of his Lord, which was now held at Vellore. And, moreover, he was in constant expectation of his country being invaded and desolated by the Râyar's troops, whenever the Mahometan kings of Golkonda and the Dekkan should desist for a while from menacing and pressing on the Hindû Empire on their southern frontiers, or whenever a more able and energetic Râyar should come into power. And at last the second of these two contingencies came to pass. The Râyar died ; and was succeeded by his son, a vigorous and resolute prince, who at once declared war against Tirumala, and prepared to march southwards at the head of a large and formidable army.

In the meantime, Tirumala had induced the Nâyakkan Kings of



Tanjore and Gingi to join him in his rebellion, and the Narasinga found that of all his tributaries the King of Mysore alone remained faithful to him. However the mean and cowardly Nâyakkan of Tanjore soon grew alarmed at the warlike attitude of the Narasinga ; withdrew from the league without notice ; and after informing the Narasinga of the plans of the confederates, formally tendered his submission. Upon this the Narasinga marched at once upon Gingi, and threatened to lay siege to that strong fortress.

But his plans were entirely disconcerted by a stroke of policy for which he was by no means prepared. Tirumala had entered into an offensive alliance with the government of Golkonda, and as soon as the Narasinga turned his face southwards and began to march, the Souba of Golkonda invaded his territories and desolated several districts with fire and sword. Upon this the Narasinga retraced his steps, and having come up with the enemy succeeded in driving him back with some loss across the frontier. But this was merely a momentary success. The Souba, enraged at his repulse, put himself at the head of a large army, and attacked and defeated the Narasinga : and after a while the latter came to perceive that he was utterly unable to cope single-handed with his powerful neighbour. Accordingly he resolved to throw himself upon the generosity of his unruly vassals in the south, and induce them if possible by argument and fair promises to join him in resisting the common foe. With this object he marched southwards and commenced negotiations with the Nâyakkans. The justice of his arguments was at once admitted ; and his fair promises were returned with interest ; numberless interviews took place ; sumptuous entertainments were given without end ; and for a time nothing could be more cordial, apparently, than the relations between the Emperor and the three Kings of the south. But nothing came of it all : and a whole year slipped by, during which the Souba consolidated his acquisitions, and securely garrisoned the strong places which he had taken ; and at the end of it the Narasinga discovered to his mortification, that he was no nearer the attainment of his object than on the day when he quitted his capital. On the contrary, jealousies and dissensions had sprung up amongst those whom he was so anxious to conciliate : and he was now without friends, and without power. In despair he attempted to entrench himself in the jungles north of Tanjore, in the occupation of tribes of Kallans. But here he was overtaken by a succession of misfortunes, such as have seldom fallen to the lot of a powerful monarch. His courtiers forsook him



the few troops that had remained faithful to him quickly dispersed, and sought their homes; and after four months passed in danger and actual privation and hardship, he who had so recently been one of the mightiest and richest princes in all India, had now no resource left, but to humbly crave protection at the hands of the Râja of Mysore, who had till lately been his vassal. Happily his request was granted; and more than that, he was treated in a manner not unbecoming his position and rank.

Shortly after this the Souba of Golkonda determined to extend his conquests in the south: and having subdued the Narasinga, to reduce to submission all the Narasinga's tributaries. With this object he marched straight upon Gingi. The craven Nâyakkan of Tanjore, alarmed at this menace, without so much as waiting to see what would come of the invasion, hastened to secure his own safety by immediate submission to the Souba: to whom he sent an embassy, assuring him that he was his faithful and very obedient servant. But Tirumala was by no means prepared to follow this example. He saw no reason to swerve from the line of policy which he had marked out for himself: and resolved, since the Tanjorean had gone over to the enemy, to cause a diversion by inducing Idai Khân, the Souba of the Dekkan, to join him in defending Gingi. An embassy to this prince was so far successful as to procure the dispatch of 17,000 cavalry to the assistance of Tirumala; who joined the force with 30,000 of his own infantry; and without delay marched to the relief of Gingi. He had hardly reached that fortress however, when to his rage and mortification the General in command of his allies went over to the enemy with his whole force; and commenced to besiege the town which he had been sent to defend.

Tirumala was thus placed in a position of great difficulty and danger: but fortunately for him some of the adherents of the Narasinga had been levying troops and causing disturbances in the northern parts of his lost dominions; and in consequence of this the Souba of Golkonda was compelled to fall back, and relinquish the personal conduct of the siege. Upon this the Madura troops entered Gingi; and as the place was not only very strong by nature, but admirably fortified, numerously garrisoned, and furnished with abundance of artillery, ammunition, and military stores of all kinds, as well as with provisions sufficient for a siege of considerable duration, there appeared to be no possibility of the enemy either taking it by assault or starving out its defenders. In these circumstances



Tirumala was beginning to hope that the treachery of his allies would after all do him but little harm: when a most unexpected event upset all his calculations, and reduced him in a moment to the greatest straits. His soldiers, being men of different castes and religions from those of the soldiers of Gingi, quarrelled with them daily; and at last their animosity grew so violent that a general riot took place; in the midst of which the gates of the fortress were thrown open to the enemy, and the richest city in South India was taken almost without resistance, and given up to pillage. The booty was enormous. Gold and silver in large quantities, and heaps of rare pearls, and precious stones of large size and of the finest water, rewarded the patience of the besiegers; and at the same time incited them to fresh conquests and more extensive invasions.

Tirumala retreated in dismay to Madura, and shut himself up in his fortress, awaiting with anxiety the progress of events: but hoping that at all events Madura was too far from the enemy to invite attack. In this however he was mistaken. Flushed with victory, the Mahometans soon burst upon Tanjore, which offered no resistance: and thence they came on to Madura, spreading ruin and desolation over the whole face of the country. At this juncture Tirumala's courage forsook him, or treachery amongst his people compelled him to act in opposition to his judgment; and he ignominiously yielded up his kingdom to the enemy without a struggle. A large sum of money was paid over to the Mahometan General on the spot, and a yearly tribute was agreed upon: and thus, without a drop of blood having been spilt in battle, Madura became a dependency of Vijayapûr. After this the Mahometans marched off to their own country, laden with spoil: and Tirumala was left to reflect at his leisure upon the downfall of all his hopes and aspirations, and the eternal disgrace to which he had been subjected. Whatever may have been the nature of his reflections on this occasion, it is certain that they were productive of no good. The Jesuit writer in whose letter the foregoing events are recorded observes that instead of combining together as they ought against the Mahometans, the Nâyakkans of Tanjore and Madura seemed resolved to revenge themselves for their misfortunes by inflicting the most horrible sufferings on their own subjects. His words disclose so remarkable a state of things that I cannot but quote them. He says, the Nâyakkans "*Ne pensèrent qu'à tourmenter leurs propres sujets, que leur imprudence et leur lâcheté avaient déjà livrés aux*



“horreurs de l’invasion ennemie. Leur orgueil sembla se consoler  
 “des humiliations et des bassesses qui les avaient déshonorés, en  
 “appesantissant le jong de leur despotisme sur leurs peuples. Les  
 “concussions et les spoliations recommencèrent avec une telle cruauté  
 “qu’elles firent universellement regretter la domination des Mogols.”

Whilst they were thus occupied, the Narasinga took advantage of an opportunity which presented itself, to re-enter his own country and once more try the fortune of war. With the assistance of an army of Mysoreans he contrived to regain possession of a portion of his dominions, and to defeat a Golkonda army in a pitched battle. This success led to others; and there seemed to be a fair prospect of the ancient empire being re-established, though within narrower limits; when Tirumala, with incredible folly, again entered into an alliance with the Mahometans, and throwing open to them the southern passage of the ghauts, invited them to invade Mysore. His proposal was listened to; Mysore was invaded; and a general war ensued, which resulted in the final destruction of the re-born Empire, and the humbling of Mysore. However on returning in triumph from that country the Mahometans came down to Madura, and levied an enormous tribute from their humble friend; and then moving on to Tanjore, treated its Nâyakkan in a like manner.

So far therefore from gaining anything by these measures, Tirumala found himself considerably poorer and weaker than he was before. And not only had he ruined the Emperor, who alone could save him from the relentless Mahometans, who had by this time become periodical invaders of his country; but he had also made an implacable foe of the Râja of Mysore, who would no doubt have gladly joined him in withstanding the common enemy, had Tirumala only been wise enough to make him his friend. But he was not wise enough to do this: and now a new danger was added to the old. The Râja of Mysore, thirsting for vengeance on account of the sufferings to which he had been exposed by Tirumala’s unpatriotic and treacherous behaviour, declared war against Madura; and sent a large army to seize and occupy the rich province of Sattiyamangalam. The reduction of this country having been effected with the greatest ease, the Mysorean General resolved to attack Madura itself; and without waiting for permission from his master, marched rapidly upon Tirumala’s capital: and so sudden was the movement, that the King found himself utterly unprepared for the emergency. There was no time to call out the Poligars; the household troops were



wholly unequal to the task of repelling the invaders; and Tirumala being ill at the time, and no longer a young man, lost his wits and was reduced to a state of despair. However he sent off an express to the Sêthupati to march at once to his assistance; and in order to show unmistakeably the desperate plight in which he found himself to be, so worded the despatch as to make it appear to be sent by the Queen, and not by himself. The Sêthupati gallantly obeyed the call; assembled 25,000 men without a moment's delay; and suddenly marching them up between the walls of Madura and the camp of the enemy, proclaimed to the King that for the present at all events he was safe. Recovering his courage Tirumala thereupon collected 35,000 of the royal troops; and having effected a junction with the Marava army, offered the enemy battle. But the Mysorean commander did not feel himself strong enough to risk a general engagement: and so attempted to gain time, hoping that some expected reinforcements would make their appearance; and also hoping that he might be able to seduce Tirumala's General, a crafty Brâhman, by the offer of a handsome bribe. The latter expectation was realized: and although superior in numbers, the Madura army was for some time prevented from closing with the enemy. But the Maravans were under no such control; and after raising a cry of treason, and thrusting the traitor into prison, fell on the Mysorean army with great fury and after a sharp encounter put them to the rout.

The enemy fell back upon a fortress, probably Dindigul, for they would scarcely have ventured to leave so strong a fort in the hands of the King, when advancing against his capital; and there awaited the coming of fresh troops. In the course of a few days the Mysorean received a reinforcement of about 20,000 men; and relying on this addition to his strength, offered battle. Upon this a sanguinary engagement took place, resulting in the total defeat of the invaders, after a loss on either side of nearly 12,000 killed. The Mysorean therefore fled back through the ghauts in great disorder: and Madura was once more free from danger.

Tirumala was so well pleased with the courage and conduct of the Sêthupati, that he determined to reward it in a right princely fashion. He bestowed on him all kinds of valuable presents; and gave him the title of Tirumala Sêthupati, and also that of Protector of the Queen's *tâli*, because he had rescued her husband from danger. He also gave him the privilege of using the lion-faced palanquin peculiar to the royal house of Madura; relieved him for ever from the



duty of paying tribute ; and added to his dominions the large villages of Tiruppûvanam, Tiruchuli, and Pallimadam. The dependency, thus enlarged, was of very considerable extent ; and capable in those days of wielding a notable influence over the politics of Southern India. And it would seem to be doubtful at first sight whether Tirumala and his father exercised a sound discretion in gradually raising up so powerful a neighbour, in the room of a humble and comparatively feeble vassal. But perhaps the Sêthupati's exaltation was unavoidable. For his fidelity had been of late years most remarkable, and he had rendered invaluable service on more than one occasion. Once he had repelled an incursion of Mahometans, headed by a leader of the name of Khûb (? Kutb) Khân ; in return for which he was honored with the title of "he who propped up the kingdom," and also received permission to celebrate the "nine nights' festival" in his own capital, and with the same pomp and magnificence with which it was celebrated at Madura. Then at a later period he had stamped out a formidable rebellion. For some reason which cannot now be discovered the powerful Poligar of Ettiyapuram in the Tinnevelly District put himself at the head of a confederation of Poligars, and took up arms against the King : and the Sêthupati, being the chief of all the Poligars, was entrusted with the duty of quelling the rebellion and performed it most satisfactorily. The leader of the rebels was put to death, and the others severely punished ; and in a few months tranquillity was completely restored. And for this service he was given a large slice of land in the neighbourhood of Manârkôvil in the Tinnevelly country, saddled with the trifling responsibility of protecting its pearl-fishery, which yielded considerable sums of money to the royal treasury. Rag'hunâtha Têvan was therefore a most trusty vassal and well deserved the rewards and honors that were heaped upon him. Nor did he ever give his lord occasion to repent having placed so much confidence in him. He continued for many years to reign quietly at Râmnâd, abstaining from all intrigue, and occupying himself with the improvement of his country. Amongst other things, he built a village at Râmêshwara, to which Râmappayya had made access practicable by the construction of his permanent causeway during the war with the Dalavây : and from this circumstance he took the title of "the master of Râmêshwara."

The Mysoreans having been completely defeated and driven out of the country, Tirumala's spirit began to revive : and he now



yearned for revenge. Not only had he been very much frightened, and his country devastated by the enemy: but the invasion had been characterized by circumstances of ferocity and brutality such as, even in those unhappy times, had been rarely equalled and perhaps never surpassed. Acting under the direct orders of the Râja of Mysore, the invaders had cut off the noses of all their prisoners, and sent them in sacks to Seringapatam as glorious trophies. Not only was this barbarity practised in the case of combatants, though that had been sufficiently atrocious: but old and feeble men, tender women, even young children, all in fact who had the misfortune to fall into the clutches of these monsters, were treated in the same inhuman fashion; and the whole country was filled with the groans and curses of those who besides being horribly mutilated, had been everlastingly disgraced in the eyes of every Hindû. Tirumala resolved therefore to retaliate, and having called before him his younger brother, prince Kumâra Muttu, ordered him to collect a large body of troops, and invade and devastate Mysore, adding at the same time that he expected him to treat the Râja in the same manner as the Râja had treated his poor subjects.

In obedience to these orders Kumâra Muttu speedily put himself at the head of a large army; and marching to Dindigul, was there joined by Rang'hana Nâyakkan and the eighteen Poligars. Losing no time by unnecessary delays, he broke up his camp; and marching day and night in the direction of the enemy, who had heard of his approach, contrived to fall on him unawares and defeated him with great loss. After this several fortresses opened their gates to him, and were occupied and garrisoned: and he was able after a few days to attack the enemy's capital. It does not appear whether or no Seringapatam was taken by storm. But by some means the Râja was taken prisoner, and Kumâra Muttu had the supreme pleasure of cutting off the barbarian's nose, and sending it to Madura with those of thousands of prisoners to delight Tirumala's eyes.

This bloody war, which was always spoken of as the "hunt for noses," was thus brought to a close in 1659: and Kumâra Muttu was about to march home in triumph, when he heard the unexpected news of the King's death. After a most eventful reign of six and thirty years Tirumala had died in his capital, when between 60 and 70 years of age.

The actual cause of Tirumala's death is not recorded in any work that I have come across: but there exist some curious and interesting



traditions touching its circumstances. One of them is to the following effect. Tirumala persistently showed great favor to a pretended Gnyâni or sage, who was really a Christian Missionary in disguise. This teacher at last gained so extraordinary an ascendancy over the King's mind, that he almost if not quite converted him to Christianity; and the King began to refuse to spend any more money in building temples and performing acts of religious charity. The Brâhmans were greatly enraged at this; and determined to murder him. Accordingly two or three of them, headed by a *B'hattan* or officiating priest of the temple named Kula S'hêk'hara, went to the King and informed him with much mystery that they had discovered a secret treasure-house in a vault under the great Pagoda of Mînâkshi; and that if he would go with them they would point it out to him. They added, at the same time, that it would be necessary for him to go without any attendants. Tirumala had not the slightest suspicion of foul play and went with them at once. He was admitted into the vault; a large stone which closed its entrance was immediately fastened down; and the unfortunate man was left to perish miserably by starvation. The Brâhmans then gave out that Tirumala had been translated to heaven by the goddess Mînâkshi, while worshipping in the Pagoda; and forthwith proceeded to crown his son. This tradition seems at first sight very childish and incredible. But the more closely it is examined and analysed, the more reasonable and trustworthy will it appear: and it is assuredly deserving of attention. In the first place, the Brâhmans would never allow their crime to become matter of history if they could possibly help it: and hence the silence of the native manuscripts on this point. In the next place it is known for certain that Robert de Nobilibus founded an important mission in the town of Madura in Tirumala's reign; and during many years of labor made a very considerable number of converts with the direct countenance and assistance of the King. We also know that he was obliged to leave Madura and go to a distant part of India in 1651, and that his mission suddenly declined and almost died out soon afterwards; and a persecution ensued, which resulted a few years later in the martyrdom of John de Britto. Then again, Robert de Nobilibus always professed to be a high-caste Brâhman from Rome: and always dressed and lived up to that character. Lastly the alleged mode of the murder was not only one of the few modes in which Brâhmans could conscientiously commit that crime, being one which would



cause no blood to flow, no immediate and obvious pollution : it also enabled the Brâhmans to gull the populace with the story of the victim's translation.

Another story is to the effect that Tirumala had an intrigue with the wife of a *B'hattan*, and used to visit her secretly at night. Walking home in the dark after one of his interviews with her, he fell into an unprotected well in the *B'hattan's* garden and was drowned. The *B'hattan* was terribly frightened when he discovered what had happened : and to avoid suspicion, immediately filled in the well with earth. He then told some of the leading Brâhmans what he had done ; and they gave out that the goddess had translated her favorite.

Other and more improbable traditions are in existence : but the two I have narrated are those most commonly heard. With regard to the credibility of the latter of the two accounts above given, it is of course open to the observation that it looks like a story cleverly concocted by the Brâhmans after the true story, whatever it was, had got into circulation ; and that its very existence adds to a certain extent to the probability of the truth of the former. But on the other hand, it seems reasonable to suppose that if Tirumala was murdered by Brâhmans enraged at his Christian proclivities, the fact could not have escaped the knowledge of the Jesuits living in the country at the time ; and that knowing the fact, they would have recorded it in their letters ; whereas so far from recording any thing to this effect, they incidentally observe that Tirumala never was converted, but died as he had lived an impenitent sinner. And as I know of no sufficient grounds for supposing, as some have supposed, that in saying this the Jesuits were guilty of a wilful and artful falsehood, it seems to me that we must believe that their statement to be strictly true ; and that Tirumala was not converted : and if he was not actually converted, why should he be murdered after reigning thirty-six years, and eight years after Robert de Nobilibus left Madura ?

The only passage apparently in which Tirumala's death is spoken of by a Jesuit writer is one which occurs in a letter written just after it took place, by Father Proenza, and dated Trichinopoly 1659. It seems to hint at a sudden death : but certainly not at a murder. However it will be well to quote it, particularly as it



gives the writer's view of Tirumala's character. The passage is as follows :--

“ Tiroumalei-Nayaken n'eut pas le temps de jouir de cette victoire ;  
 “ il fut appelé à rendre compte à Dieu des maux que sa perfide  
 “ politique avait attirés sur son peuple et sur les royaumes voisins.  
 “ Il mourut à l'âge de soixante-quinze ans, après trente années de règne.  
 “ On ne peut lui refuser de grandes qualités ; mais il en ternit la  
 “ gloire vers la fin de sa vie par des vices et des folies que rien ne  
 “ saurait justifier. Son règne fut illustré par des ouvrages d'une  
 “ magnificence vraiment royale ; de ce nombre sont la pagode de  
 “ Maduré, quelques édifices publics, et surtout le palais royal dont  
 “ les proportions colossales et la hardiesse étonnante rappellent les  
 “ anciens monuments de Thèbes. Il aimait et protégeait la religion  
 “ chrétienne dont il reconnaissait l'excellence ; mais il n'eut jamais  
 “ le courage d'accepter les conséquences de sa conviction. Le plus  
 “ grand obstacle à sa conversion vint de ses deux cents femmes, dont  
 “ les plus distinguées furent brûlées sur son bûcher, selon la coutume  
 “ barbare de ces nations.”

It should perhaps be observed in concluding this account of Tirumala, that it is supposed by certain natives of Madura that his title Sevari, which is so commonly adopted by native Christians, points to the fact of his conversion. But a Pundit whom I questioned about this circumstance was of opinion that it was no evidence for or against the fact of Tirumala's conversion ; inasmuch as Sevari was the name of a certain god, and might well be adopted by an orthodox Hindû, though it certainly never was a common title amongst men of good castes.

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## CHAPTER VII.

*Tirumala's territories and forts.—The Government.—Modification of its constitution.—Office of Dalavây.—Villages.—Nâdus.—The land revenue.—Division of the crop.—The Poligar's share.—Wretched state of the ryot in Tanjore.—The crown lands, and what they yielded.—The tribute.—Imposts on land.—Taxes.—The pearl and conch-shell fisheries.—The total revenue.—Tirumala's expenditure.—The Army.—The Civil Service.—The Church.—Public Works.—The Palace.—The Vasanta-mantapam.—The Teppa-kulam.—The Râyar-gôpuras.—The Tamakam.—Education.—The Madura University.—Police and Criminal Justice.—Civil Justice.—Large balances in the Treasury, and how they were spent.—The Zenana.—Large establishments.—Profuse expenditure of money.—Tirumala's daily life.—Distribution of wealth.—The merchant's chance.—State of the ryots.—Social condition of the people.—The extinction of the Nâyakkan dynasty a blessing to the country.*

AFTER narrating the principal events which distinguished the reign of the greatest of the Nâyakkans, it would be a most agreeable task to describe in this chapter with sufficient accuracy the mode of government practised by Tirumala Sevari; to roughly calculate his revenues, resources and establishments; to give an account of the buildings which he built; to draw in outline the prominent features of his social life, and of that of his nobles and the people over whom he ruled; and lastly, to give a general idea of the attainments and characters of the officers who served him: but unhappily the necessary materials are almost wholly wanting; and as the letters and manuscripts hitherto made use of throw but a very dim light on all such matters as the above, I can only endeavour to string together a few facts bearing upon them which appear with some distinctness,



and present the aggregate as a connected and intelligible whole. In so doing I cannot of course vouch for the accuracy of all my conclusions; and they must be taken for what they are worth.

The several territories under the rule of Tirumala appear to have been the following, viz:—the Tinnevelly country; a portion of the Travancore; the Madura; the Dindigul; the Marava, or Rām-nād and Sivagangei; the Kalla; the Puthu-kôttei; the Manapārei; the Coimbatore; the Salem; and the Trichinopoly. The greater part of the lands constituting these several territories were held as military feuds by the Poligars. The Sêthupati and the various chiefs subordinate to him did homage: but paid no tribute. The King of Travancore paid tribute but only when compelled. The kingdom was protected from invasion by forts built by the Nâyakkans at the following places, viz:—Dindigul; Dârâpuram; Coimbatore; Taneiya Nâyakkan's fort; Sattiyamangalam; Andiyûr; Errode; Kângeiyam fort; Vijayamangalam; Caroor; Nâmakal; Sêndamandalam; Salem; Mêlûr; Sankei-giri: Sâmapalli; Kâvêripûm fort; Attûr; Anantagiri; Aravakuricchi; Mugalûr; Sakkagiri; Mâmatti fort; and Sekamagiri.

Tirumala's government appears to have been a despotism of the purest kind, checked only by the fear of insurrection on the part of the people, and of rebellion on the part of his nobles and the more powerful of the officers who administered the affairs of the country under his orders. But this fear must have been both lively and ever present; and there are good grounds for supposing that Tirumala and the Nâyakkans generally, seldom ventured to do deeds altogether repugnant to such ideas of justice and morality as their ignorant and obstinate subjects had inherited from countless generations of ancestors. They doubtless both committed themselves, and permitted the commission by others of the greatest crimes: but there were nevertheless many things which they durst not attempt to do, and there existed a well-defined public opinion which it was never quite safe for them to insult.

According to the *Sathagam* of Manavâla Nârâyanan, a very popular Tamil work, a Hindû King's principal ministers, (perhaps it would be more correct to call them Heads of Departments,) were six in number, and had clearly distinguishable duties to perform: and no doubt his statement is to some extent applicable to the Nâyakkan government.



*The Mantri.*—The first of these six in order, if not in importance, was the Mantri or Chief Counsellor, whose business was to aid the King by his advice in the general administration of the affairs of the kingdom. It was only after private consultation with him that the King ought to decide upon the advisability of declaring war or making peace; of imposing a new tax; of making a new law; of undertaking a great public work; and in fact upon every question of moment. He was or ought to be the great repository of official precedents and knowledge; and directly responsible for all blunders and mishaps. It does not appear from the Sathagam that he had any executive duties: and probably he was strictly speaking nothing more than an adviser, in whose wisdom and honesty the King was accustomed to place great confidence.

*The Dalakartan* was the commander of the troops in the capital; and had no other duty than that of conquering the King's enemies, domestic and foreign.

*The Pradāni* was the minister of finance, and was entrusted with the collection of the revenues, and the entire internal administration of the country.

*The Rayasam* was the King's confidential secretary; and his business was to draft correspondence; prepare grants and orders; remember precedents; and keep notes of all important transactions. His duties were of a high order: and his position rather exalted.

*The Kanakkan* or accountant, was responsible for the correctness of all accounts touching the expenditure and receipt of revenue. His office was highly important, and considered to be very honorable. It was a common saying that he "must keep his account as true as the sun; or even if the sun should happen to rise in the west, his account must not vary."

*The St'hânâpati* or ambassador represented the King his master in foreign Courts. He resided ordinarily at head-quarters, but was sent abroad whenever his services seemed to be required. He needed to be a good observer, fluent of speech, ever ready with a lie, and well acquainted with the politics, peculiarities, customs, and etiquette of the various countries, with the rulers of which the King had dealings.

These six are the only ministers mentioned by the author of the Sathagam, and they sufficed perhaps in early times for the govern-



ment of ordinary Hindû kingdoms : but in Tirumala's time a much more extensive establishment was employed, and it was very differently constituted. Great changes had been carried out by Arya Nâyaga, when he first came to Madura: and as he remained in power for so many years, the system which he established had in all probability become fixed and permanent. The most important of these changes was the abolition of the offices of Mantri and Dalakartan; and the substitution in their place of that of a Dalavây, who was both prime minister and commander-in-chief of the King's armies.

The office of Dalakartan having been abolished, it became necessary to provide for the safety of the capital in the absence of Arya Nâyaga; and an officer styled "the Dalakartan of the fort" seems to have been appointed to command the troops which formed the garrison of Madura. In the course of time this officer began to superintend the police, and to perform other important duties: and before the commencement of the eighteenth century he had become a very powerful official; as is clearly shown by an inscription in the granite doorway of the eastern tower of the great Pagoda, which tells us that in 1709 the Dalakartan of the fort had been engaged in putting down a serious disturbance within the town arising from the unjust taxation by the people of the Palace of certain Church lands. In order to restore quiet, he remitted the obnoxious tax; and granted to the injured parties an exemption from payment of a certain octroi duty on paddy coming into the fort; and also granted a piece of land to a certain family free of tax for ever.

The commander of the fortress of Trichinopoly seems to have been vested with like powers within the limits of his jurisdiction.

*The Sîmei manyakâran* appears to have been the Revenue officer in charge of the collections of the Madura province or country immediately attached to the capital. There were doubtless other officers of equal or nearly equal rank in charge of the Trichinopoly and other provinces, but I do not happen to have come across any reference to them.

Then there was the Collector of customs; an official who no doubt had ample opportunities of amassing wealth, and enjoyed considerable influence.

Another and much higher official was the Administrator or Governor of the Tinnevelly country. When the King lived in Madura, it was highly necessary to place a man of ability in charge of the



Southern Province, and vest him with large powers : and it became still more necessary to do this when Trichinopoly was made the capital. The manuscript translated by Mr. Taylor in the O. H. MSS. styled "the reign of Ranga-Krishna-Nâyakkan" shows clearly how great was the authority exercised by this officer, and how sumptuous the style in which he lived.

Next in importance to the Governor of the Tinnevelly country was the Governor of the rich province of Sattiyamangalam : and after him came the governors of less important tracts attached to the King's government, who were probably the Dalakartans of the principal royal forts.

The Officer in charge of the great Palace probably enjoyed considerable power and influence ; but nothing certain can be gathered with regard to the duties of his office.

Lastly, there were the officers who exercised revenue and magisterial jurisdiction over more or less extensive tracts of country, which formed the territory immediately administered by the King's servants. Amaldârs and other subordinate officials were first appointed by the Mahometans, and belong altogether to their system of government : but there seems to be some evidence going to show that those offices existed under the Nâyakkans.

Thus the King employed ministers, secretaries and high officials other than those mentioned in the Sathagam ; whilst on the other hand some of the Nâyakkans considered it unnecessary to maintain the customary staff, and sometimes two or more offices were rolled into one and conferred on the same individual. For instance, Arya Nâyaga was appointed both Dalakartan and Mantri. It seems probable, by the way, that the office of Mantri declined in importance at a comparatively early period ; and if it survived, was quite a sinecure in the time of Tirumala and his successors. This can be well accounted for on the hypothesis that, having no executive duties, the Mantri seldom had any real power ; and was liable to be thrust altogether on one side, if personally disliked by the King or by one of the more powerful ministers.

The system of revenue administration in vogue in the time of Tirumala appears to have been the following. The kingdom consisted, as the Collectorate now consists, of an aggregate of villages or townships or *municipia*, each of which had its own unchangeable boun-



daries, and was peopled by an isolated community whose local affairs were regulated by hereditary head-men or chiefs. Each of them possessed its own magistrate, revenue officers, policemen, and other functionaries ; and as far as its social and municipal well-being was concerned, was quite independent of the King's government except in times of invasion. And even in such times it could protect itself to a certain extent, if sufficiently large to contain a town and fort, or even a space protected by a mud wall.

The villages varied infinitely in size and importance, and were differently denominated according as they contained many or few houses and inhabitants. Then again they were differently styled according as their inhabitants were Brâhmans or non-Brâhmans, Tamils or foreigners. Thus a considerable village occupied by Telugus or Kanarese was usually called an *ûr* ; a small Kalla village a *patti* or *kuricchi* ; a fortified village bore the title of *kôttei* ; a village rich in rice-lands and belonging to Brâhmans sometimes bore that of *mangalam* ; while ordinary Tamil villages were *grâmas* or *kudis*.

In order to facilitate the collection of revenue from these several villages, they were grouped together in groups more or less numerous according to circumstances, and formed into territorial divisions more or less extensive, over each of which was placed an administrative officer vested with large powers whose chief duty was to control the headmen.

These territorial divisions, like the villages, were differently denominated in different parts of the country ; and like them varied most considerably in extent and importance. In the Marava country a collection of a few villages for administrative purposes was termed a *mâhânam*. The Kallans called their districts *nâdus*. And the district or county immediately attached to the capital was known in early times as the "excellent *nâdu* of Mad'hurâ." Whether the Vellâlans and cultivating castes generally used the term *nâdu*, I have been unable to discover ; but it seems probable, looking to the signatures to Kûn Pândya's inscription (see ante pages 59 and 60,) that many of them did use it. At the same time it is by no means certain that the term *nâdu*, as applied to a county or district, had not fallen into disuse before Tirumala mounted the throne. An inscription of his time shows that the largest divisions of the kingdom proper were called *sîmeis* : and I have not come across the word *nâdu* in any writing referring to modern times except in connection with Kalla



affairs. Very possibly it had come to mean a much smaller division, consisting only of a few villages: and if so, the fact of its signification being altered would account for the fact that the word *nāttān-meikāran*, which means properly the ruler of a *nādu*, is now used and has apparently been used for a long time in the sense of head of a single village, or at the most of two or three connected villages with their hamlets and dependencies.

These divisions having been made, the collection of the revenue was easily effected. The revenue officers of the villages, who were styled in the Marava and Kalla districts *ambalakārans*, and in ordinary Tamil districts *manyakārans*, collected the King's taxes from the villagers through their accountants the *kanakku-pilleis*, and remitted the collections to the officers in charge of *nādus*, *sīmeis* and *māhānams*; and these officers accounted for them to the *Pradāni* or minister of finance.

The royal revenues appear to have been derived for the most part from the land, and collected as a rule in kind; the produce of the lands of each village being divided between the ryots or tenant-farmers who cultivated them and the King, who was generally speaking the sole landlord of all lands not granted in perpetuity to Poligars and other nobles, or to Brāhmans, Churches, and charitable institutions. The proportion of produce which the ryots enjoyed depended in a great measure on two things, the rapacity of the King's superior collectors, and the power of deceiving those collectors possessed by the petty local officials: but the theory on which the collections were made seems to have been that he was entitled to exactly half of the gross out-turn, and in some instances he was so fortunate as to obtain his moiety.

As it is still obstinately taken for granted by many people that in the good old times and under purely Hindû governments, the cultivator of the soil usually enjoyed from three-fourths to nine-tenths of the produce raised by him, it will be well to preclude the possibility of this mistake being hereafter made with respect to what used to be the Madura country by quoting an extract from a letter of a Jesuit, Father Vico, dated Madura, 30th August 1611, in which the proprietary rights of the ryots or tenant-farmers are defined with remarkable precision and clearness. The passage runs as follows:—

“Le roi ou grand Nayaker de Maduré n'a que peu de domaines qui dépendent immédiatement de lui, c'est à dire qui soient sa propriété



“ (car dans ce pays les grands sont seuls propriétaires et les peuples  
 “ ne sont que leurs fermiers); toutes les autres terres sont les domaines  
 “ d’une foule de petits princes ou seigneurs tributaires; ces derniers  
 “ ont, chacun dans leur domaine la pleine administration de la police  
 “ et de la justice, si toutefois justice il y a; ils lèvent les contributions,  
 “ qui comprennent au moins la moitié du produit des terres; ils en  
 “ font trois parts, dont la première est réservée comme tribut au grand  
 “ Nayaker, la seconde est employée à soudoyer les troupes que le  
 “ seigneur doit lui fournir en cas de guerre, la troisième appartient au  
 “ seigneur. Le grand Nayaker de Maduré, ainsi que ceux de Tanjaour  
 “ et de Gingi, sont eux-mêmes tributaires du Bisnagar, à qui ils paient  
 “ ou doivent payer chacun un tribut annuel de six à dix millions de  
 “ francs. Mais ils ne sont pas exacts à s’en acquitter, souvent ils dif-  
 “ fèrent, quelquefois même ils refusent avec insolence; alors le Bis-  
 “ nagar arrive ou envoie un de ses généraux, à la tête de cent mille  
 “ hommes pour se faire payer tous les arriérés avec les intérêts, et  
 “ dans ces cas, qui sont fréquents, c’est encore le pauvre peuple qui  
 “ expie la faute de ses princes; tout le pays est dévasté, et les popula-  
 “ tions sont pillées ou massacrées.”

Probably there does not now exist a clearer memorial than this of the rights and position enjoyed by Hindû ryots under Hindû governments. And that the Jesuit did not make an erroneous statement, is clearly proved I think by the circumstance that when the British Government first began to make arrangements with the chiefs and nobles of South India, it adopted the system, which I suppose it may be presumed it found to prevail, of so calculating the tribute payable by each noble and chief as to allow him exactly one-third of the moiety of the gross produce of the lands possessed by him, whilst it retained for its own use the remaining two-thirds, and gave the other moiety to the ryots. As the chief or noble was relieved for ever by the British Government from the duty of keeping the King’s peace and providing troops for the defence of the country, the third part of the Governmental share or moiety, which under Hindû governments went to meet the charges incurred in the performance of those duties, was taken from him as a matter of course; and thus it has come about that, as far as his pecuniary interests are concerned, the Poligar or Zamindâr of to-day stands ordinarily in much the same position as did his ancestor or predecessor two or three centuries ago.

Moreover it would seem to be by no means improbable that those



passages in ancient Hindû writings which are usually adduced to prove that the State demanded from the ryot no more than a tenth or a sixth of the crop, mean, if properly construed, that the State contented itself with taking so much for its civil expenses, whilst another portion went to the support of troops and the maintenance of peace, and yet another to the support of the proprietor, whoever he might be. And if so, the practice in the most ancient and excellent times was in perfect accord with that of later and degenerate ages.

As stated above, the ryot was theoretically entitled to a moiety of the produce which he raised, and if fortunate, obtained his moiety. But it is perfectly clear that he was not always so fortunate, and was at times subjected to oppression of so grievous a kind that he was compelled to throw up his holding in despair, and emigrate to a more promising district or country. The following description of the deplorable condition of the ryot of 1683 in Tanjore, which is commonly supposed to have afforded until quite recently a perfect example of a prosperous old-fashioned Hindû country, will doubtless startle a few admirers of by-gone times, and perhaps wring from them an admission that British moderation is a thing not altogether unknown in India.

“Le Tanjaour est au pouvoir d’Ecogi, à l’exception de quelques provinces dont s’est emparé le roi du Marava. Voici en peu de traits un tableau de l’administration de ce pays. Ecogi prélève les quatre cinquièmes de tous les produits. Ce n’est pas assez, au lieu d’accepter ces quatre cinquièmes en nature, il exige qu’on les lui paie en argent ; et comme il a soin de fixer lui-même le prix, bien au-dessus de celui que le propriétaire peut réaliser, il résulte que la vente de la récolte entière ne suffit point à payer les contributions. Les cultivateurs restent donc sous le poids d’une dette accablante, et souvent ils sont obligés de prouver par des tortures barbares l’impuissance où ils sont de s’en acquitter.

“Il vous sera difficile de concevoir une telle oppression, et cependant je dois ajouter que la tyrannie est encore plus affreuse et plus révoltante dans le roy aume de Gingi. C’est au reste tout ce que j’en dirai, car les expressions me manquent pour rendre tout ce qu’elle a d’horrible.”

This passage was penned, it should be observed, by an eye-witness of the working of the system described, and by no less a personage than the illustrious John de Britto. It occurs in a letter dated 1683.



It appears from the passage quoted at page 150 that the crown lands formed but a small portion of the whole kingdom, and that by far the greater proportion of it was in the hands of the Poligars and petty chiefs; and one would be inclined to suppose therefore that the King's revenue consisted for the most part of tribute paid to him by great proprietors. But on the other hand it seems probable that the crown lands afforded by far the more certain and productive source of income. Tribute was undoubtedly constantly withheld wholly or in part, whilst the payment of rent could by no means be avoided. And the crown lands must have been very considerably better situated as respects facilities of irrigation and carriage, than the high outlying lands of the tributaries, and were consequently far more valuable.

It is perhaps not impossible to calculate roughly how much the crown lands actually yielded. Tirumala often granted large estates for the support of various religious institutions, apparently without materially impairing his resources; and it appears from a MS. translated in the O. H. MSS. that on one occasion after repairing the great Pagoda from its centre to the *Kapâli* wall at an enormous expense, he endowed it with lands yielding annually no less than forty-four thousand *pons*, or Rs. 88,000; and at the same time granted a valuable village for the support of the *St'hânikans* or head Brâhmans, and other servants of the Pagoda. And soon afterwards, it is stated, he spent five lacs of *Pons* or £100,000 on sacred ornaments and buildings, and then granted lands yielding 12,000 *Pons* of revenue for the maintenance of the apartment in the Pagoda appropriated to the Goddess *Mînâkshi*. There is but little reason to doubt the correctness of these figures; and they show clearly how very large the king's resources must have been. And Mr. Taylor believed that the recorder of the grant of lands yielding annually 44,000 *Pons* furnished us at the same time with a clue by means of which we may fix with precision the total amount of the Madura revenues in Tirumala's time; inasmuch as the words immediately preceding those showing the value of the lands granted are "at the rate of one thousand per lac," and may be understood to show that the revenues amounted to one hundred times the value of the grant, namely 44,00,000 *Pons* per annum. But it seems to me that we may go even farther than this. The lands granted must have been crown lands, under the King's own management and altogether at his disposal, or they could not have been granted; and if



therefore the revenue yielded by them amounted, as stated, to one per cent., on the total revenues derived from the King's lands, the inference is that the lands intended were the crown lands, and that they yielded no less than 44,00,000 Pons, or £880,000 per annum.

The amount of tribute paid into the royal treasury it is, I believe, impossible to calculate with anything like precision. In 1742 the Dindigul district, which then consisted of some twenty pâleiyams, is said to have yielded in round numbers about Rs. 3,50,000 per annum, which gives an average of Rs. 17,500 for each pâleiyam; and supposing that all the seventy-two pâleiyams yielded a like average, the total revenue derived from them would amount to Rs. 12,60,000. But in 1742 the Dindigul province was in a very unsettled and unproductive state, and it may probably be assumed that it yielded at least half as much again to Tirumala as it did to the Mahrattas. Assuming this to have been so, and calculating as before, we arrive at a gross tribute of Rs. 18,90,000, or £189,000 per annum. There is nothing to show how much was ordinarily paid by the Sêthupati, and from time to time by the King of Travancore. But this is immaterial, as Tirumala relieved the former from paying tribute, and the latter never could have paid very much.

The two principal sources of revenue, the land-tax and tribute, having been glanced at, we must now pass on to the consideration of the minor sources. These were very numerous and probably very oppressive: but few of them were very productive.

Besides the land-tax proper there were several kinds of arbitrary imposts on land, the names and descriptions of which it is impossible for me to give with any fulness. One of the most curious was the *Er-vinei* or plough-tax, subject to which owners of land were compelled to furnish the King gratis with laborers, whenever required, at the rate of one for each plough in their possession.

The ferry-boat tax seems to have been assessed on the cultivated lands of each village in order to provide funds for the maintenance of the royal ferry-boats, by means of which travellers were enabled to cross the rivers of the country when swollen with rains, safely and free of charge. As bridges were unknown in those days, and mountain torrents were everywhere very numerous, the necessity of a tax of this kind is intelligible.

As the State took upon itself the duty of protecting the crops



grown in each particular field, a watching tax (*Kācali-rari*) was assessed on each village at the rate of so much per acre of land, in order to provide remuneration for governmental watchers.

Immense numbers of men were required to drag along the gigantic cars of the gods on holy days; and accordingly each village had to provide a certain number of men for this service, which was called the *tér-ūliyam* or car service.

There seem to have been many petty taxes on land of a like nature; rendered necessary all of them by the paternal government of the time doing for the people habitually and as a matter of course everything that affected the interests of more than a single village. Next, every kind of art and profession was taxed. Every weaver's loom paid so much per annum; and every ironsmelter's furnace; every oil-mill; every retail shop; every house occupied by an artificer; and every indigo vat. Every collector of wild honey was taxed; every maker and seller of clarified butter; every owner of carriage bullocks. Even stones in the beds of rivers used by washermen to beat clothes on, paid a small tax. In the towns there were octroi duties on grain and other commodities brought through the gates. And lastly there were the customs, chiefly land customs with regard to the particulars of which I can find no information. These petty taxes appear to have been collected in money, and the octroi duty on paddy was in 1709 one fanam on every eight *pothis* of paddy, or about  $2\frac{1}{4}$  pence for 400 lbs.

Another and productive source of revenue was the great pearl-fishery, which was carried on annually along the whole coast from Cape Comorin to the island of Pâmbam. A rough idea of its value to the King may be formed from a statement in a Jesuit letter of the year 1700 which describes the fishery, to the effect that the Dutch used to grant licenses to fish for pearls to all applicants at a uniform rate of about 60 Ecus for each vessel employed in the fishery; and that sometimes as many as 6 and 700 vessels were so employed. The net sum realized must therefore have been about 36,000 Ecus. And it was realized from the fishery along the Tinnevely coast only; the Râmnâd coast being then fished by the Sêthupati, to whom it belonged.

And the conch-shell fishery must also have produced a considerable revenue, if as seems probable the King enjoyed the monopoly of it. The conch-shells were found in great abundance all along the coast,



of a large size and brilliant white color; and were exported to Bengal and other countries, where they were highly prized as materials for bracelets and other manufactured articles. And the *Sálagrámas*, the few shells which were occasionally found with volutes running from left to right instead of from right to left as is ordinarily the case, were believed owing to some superstition connected with an ancient legend to possess magical virtues, and always commanded fabulous prices.

All the sources of revenue of which any record is known to exist have now been enumerated, and it only remains for me to compare with this revenue the tribute which was payable by the King to the Emperor of Vijayanagar, or the Narasinga. It appears from the letter of Father Vico quoted above that the Nâyakkans of Madura, Tanjore and Gingi paid from six to ten millions of francs each : and assuming, as we may well assume, that he of Madura paid the largest sum, his tribute amounted to the respectable sum of £400,000. And supposing that it was calculated at a third part of his revenue, in the same manner as the tribute of the Poligars was calculated, the gross revenue must have amounted to about £1,200,000, an amount which agrees very well with that which may be arrived at as follows, on the calculation above set forth, viz. :—

Revenue from crown lands.....	£880,000
Ordinary tribute.....	£189,000
Taxes, customs, royalties, &c.....	£131,000
<hr/>	
Total....	£1,200,000

The purchasing power or market value of this sum of money in Tirumala's time may be calculated in the following manner. A Jesuit letter of 1713 shows that at that time " eight *markáls* or large measures of excellent husked rice" could in ordinary seasons be bought for one *fanam*, and would keep a man in food for more than fifteen days. Now the Marava *markál* contains, and doubtless contained when this letter was written, six small measures each of about two pounds weight; and a common *fanam*, the *fanam* which the context shows was intended, is equal to about 2½*d.* of our money. Therefore about ninety-six pounds of excellent husked rice could be bought for about 2½*d.* Now in 1866 and the two or three years preceding it the average price of good rice was about twenty pounds for a Rupee. Consequently, whereas a penny bought some forty odd pounds of



good rice at the commencement of the eighteenth century, it has been an equivalent for only five-sixths of a pound during the last few years: and whereas it was then sufficient to pay for one man's labor for some ten or twelve days, it will not now pay for so much as half a day's labor. In other words, the value of money has risen more than forty-fold; and Tirumala's gross revenue of £1,200,000 was equivalent to a revenue of nearly fifty millions of pounds drawn at the present time. But then it must be remembered that this was at the best a nominal revenue, and was never fully collected in the very best of years. In a country possessing so variable a climate as Madura, the crops fail partly every year wholly in not a few years, and where they failed there were few or no collections. Then the Poligars used to fall into arrears, and either evade payment altogether by colluding with the ministers, or compromise matters by paying a portion only of what was due. Invasions, epidemics and famines were very common occurrences: and when they occurred, of course reduced the revenue to a minimum. As the collections were for the most part in kind, in plentiful years it was next to impossible to dispose of them, particularly in remote parts, and mildew, rot, and the tricks of officials greatly diminished their bulk when they were kept in store for any length of time. The pearl-fishery often failed wholly or in part. And lastly remissions of tribute and of all kinds of taxes were very frequently granted to favored individuals and corporations. Taking all these circumstances into consideration we cannot suppose that Tirumala had the equivalent of fifty millions to disburse in any one year. But it must be allowed, I think, that his income was extraordinarily large; and that the Nâyakkans understood the difficult art of extracting money from their subjects far better than have any rulers that have succeeded them.

The yearly expenditure incurred by Tirumala in providing for the requirements of his government cannot have been very great as will appear from a consideration of what those requirements were. His standing army was small and inexpensive. He had no navy. No salaries were paid to officials. The church was not a State establishment. The ordinary charges under the head of public works were moderate. The State had but little to do with education. The Police cost next to nothing. There were no judicial establishments. Pensioners were provided for by grants of land. The only really heavy item was one which might perhaps be denominated articles of luxury.



*The Army.*—The defence of the country was provided for in the following manner. Every considerable town was fortified, garrisoned with regular troops, and furnished with artillery, trained elephants, and horses: and a Dalakartan or commanding officer was in charge of its defences and responsible for its safety. The capital was of course still better protected; and as we have seen before the seventy-two Poligars were bound to furnish troops for the defence of its bastions, whenever necessary. In order to perform this duty effectually, and at the same time to maintain their dignity in a suitable manner, they used to keep up a kind of militia properly equipped for service and ready to march on any point at a moment's notice. This militia was exceedingly numerous; in fact nearly all the able-bodied ryots resident in the Poligar's dominions were militiamen, and liable to be called out whenever there was danger of invasion or a prospect of foreign service. And besides the Poligars some of the nobles and courtiers who lived in the capital held large estates subject to military service, and maintained whole regiments of infantry and cavalry. Thus Hermê-katti mentioned in page 117 as being a protector of the Christians, constantly maintained at his own proper expense a force consisting of 3,000 foot, 200 horse, and fifty elephants.

For officers there were the Dalakartans of the towns, the Poligars and other nobles and their relatives, and a few soldiers of fortune who took to war as a profession: and over all was the Dalavây or commander-in-chief whose duties and position have been already discussed. Some of the Poligars were placed in authority over others, and in time of war were answerable for the good conduct of their subordinates. Thus the Sêthupati was the chief of them all; and the Poligar of Dindigul is constantly spoken of as being the chief of eighteen Poligars, and occupied a most distinguished position in the time of Tirumala. In ordinary times this military organization was amply sufficient for all purposes. When the levying of troops was required, the Dalavây sent requisitions to such and such Poligars to furnish so many armed men within a certain time; the Poligars immediately sent round orders to the Dalakartans and head-men of their towns and villages; and on the day named, or soon afterwards, the levies were ready for service and in marching order. In times of pressing necessity the Sêthupati and every great leader of men in the kingdom would be called to arms, and swarms of troops would hurry to the King's assistance from every quarter.



The King's armies were thus easily mobilized ; and as the great majority of the soldiers were in times of peace ryots supporting themselves and their families by the cultivation of lands granted to them free of rent on condition of service, and never received anything in the shape of pay except *batta* when on the march ; the expense of maintaining them in efficiency was very trifling. On the other hand, armies so composed had necessarily no common purpose, no feeling of loyalty towards the person of the King, no knowledge of and no desire for war and its attendant glories. They were for the most part ill-disciplined though not altogether untrained, and were only kept in order so long as their leaders continued to be animated by a common hope of plunder and personal advancement, or restrained by a common fear of the enemy or of the King's vengeance. A jealous quarrel amongst the leading chiefs, or the retirement from the scene of action of one or two Poligars who fancied themselves slighted or ill-used, would be amply sufficient to break up a force in the presence of the enemy, perhaps in the very hour of success. Consequently, however numerous might be the King's battalions, however brave his Generals and Officers, he could never for a single moment feel absolutely safe, or regard even the slightest indications of disaffection with indifference. This was a fatal obstacle in the way of Madura becoming a first-rate Hindû power, and ultimately as we shall see contributed not a little to the bringing about of her downfall.

*The Civil Service.*—There does not appear to have been any regular civil service, nor any salaried staff of officials. I have no direct authority for the statement, but I think I may venture to say that each of the heads of departments privately formed and supported as many assistants, secretaries and writers as he required to carry on the business of his department, and was directly responsible to the King for all their short-comings. And there can be no doubt, I think, that the heads themselves received nothing in the shape of salary : but were from time to time rewarded with grants of land and presents of money, when the King thought proper to mark his sense of their services. Thus it is recorded that on the occasion of a royal visit to Tinnevely the Governor of the province received a grant of five hundred Pagodas per diem. And another King is said to have given his Dalavây thirty thousand Pagodas, being pleased at the mode in which the Dalavây received him in his house. This irregular system of remuneration no doubt had its advantages, and tended to



spur on willing servants to greater exertions : but on the other hand it led the unscrupulous and dishonest—and they were unhappily the great majority—to reimburse themselves by every kind of extortion and iniquity. The riches accumulated by illicit means were sometimes enormous. The Dalavây alluded to above appears to have been absolutely alarmed at the plethoric state of his coffers ; and in order to prevent inquiries and possible punishment, after making a suitable provision for himself and his family, invited the King to his house and begged him to take what remained. What this amounted to may be imagined from the following description taken from the O. H. MSS. “ one-thousand trays made of rattan cane, tied together  
 “ with leather thongs, had been prepared ; on three hundred of which  
 “ were placed pagodas, mohurs, rupees, and fanams, each kind of  
 “ money distinct ; on three hundred other trays were placed many  
 “ golden ornaments studded with gems ; and on the remaining four  
 “ hundred trays were many most costly sacred dresses : the whole of  
 “ them were brought and placed before the king.”

If the King was inclined to be angry at the proof of his Dalavây's villainy, his anger was disarmed by this clever ruse ; and no part of the spoil was taken from the villain. On the contrary he was rewarded as stated above.

*The Church.*—There was no regular State establishment : but there was an intimate and expensive connection of the State with the Church. The King habitually patronized and befriended Brâhmans, priests, Gurus, devotees and men belonging to the religious classes ; giving them liberal presents of money, food and clothing ; conferring upon the more distinguished important and valuable posts ; and filling his palace with such as were learned and clever. And the princely revenues of the Saiva and Vaishnava pagodas and religious institutions generally flowed almost exclusively from crown lands granted from time to time for their support. In return, Brâhmans, Gurus, priests, and devotees all flattered the King ; helped him with their counsels ; and did their best to make him popular with his subjects. And as many of them were accustomed to constantly travel on duty over nearly all parts of the country ; as they were almost the only persons in the kingdom at all conversant with the news of the day ; and were at the same time much respected and trusted by the people at large, it is easy to see what immense power for good and evil they must have wielded, and how necessary it must have been



for the King to keep them always in good humour and in tolerably easy circumstances.

The Hindû clergy of Tirumala's time may perhaps be conveniently divided into two classes, the ornamental and the useful. The first class was composed of the Brâhmans who adopted a sacerdotal life, and served in temples, officiated at weddings and the like, and acted as augurs and interpreters of God's will on occasions of importance. The second class consisted of the Gurus. These were the real working clergy; and as a body stood in much the same relation to the lay population as the clergy in Spain or Italy stand at the present time; though with this difference, they belonged to various sects and did not look up to one common superior. Their business was to enforce the observance of ceremonies; to maintain ancient usages and customs; to punish offenders against caste rules by fine, and even exclusion from caste if necessary; to restore to penitents the privileges of caste communion; and lastly to instruct all who wished for instruction in religious truths.

The Gurus professed some of them the Saiva faith, some the Vaishnava, some other forms of religion. For instance, Robert de Nobilibus and Beschi were Gurus in every sense of the word. And as they did not profess a common faith, so also they did not belong to any one caste or nation. The Brâhmans indeed claimed to be entitled to act as Gurus of every caste without exception; and affected to ignore the pretensions of all Gurus who did not belong to the one great caste: but this claim was rarely admitted, and almost every caste elected from amongst its members its own Guru or Gurus, who was or were perfectly independent of Brâhmanical authority and interference. In like manner each sect possessed its own great Gurus; and there were Gurus of districts and countries; and also Gurus who acted as private chaplains to great men. These superior Gurus were generally Brâhmans. One Guru was always the keeper of the King's conscience, and enjoyed very great rank and power: indeed he was in many instances treated, by command of the King, with even greater respect and ceremony than the King himself. An example of the extraordinary veneration with which this functionary was sometimes regarded, is to be found in a Jesuit letter of 1659, which states amongst other things that every December the then Nâyakkan of Tanjore used to cause his Guru to be carried several times round and round the town in a gorgeous palanquin borne by the ladies of the Palace, and pre-



coded by another palanquin containing the Guru's slippers ; and used to walk himself in front of the procession, swinging a censer and making repeated obeisances to his spiritual master.

The Gurus as a body formed the highest class in society ; but amongst themselves they varied infinitely in rank and authority. Those of the highest rank of all were the chief Pontiffs of the great sects, who corresponded to some extent with our Archbishops. Their authority over men of their own sects—they had none over men of other sects than their own, and were in no way respected by them—was practically unlimited in all matters connected with caste and religion : and their opinion was held to be infallible by Gurus of subordinate rank. Next to them came the head Gurus of districts and castes, and then the Gurus of sub-divisions of castes. The inferior orders consisted for the most part of the dependents of the chief Gurus, the Gurus of villages and families, and the private Gurus. In all cases the relative importance and position of a Guru depended entirely upon the numbers, wealth, and social position of his immediate disciples and followers, rather than upon his individual character and attainments : and were altogether disregarded by the people of Madura as a whole. Popularity outside his caste or sect, was a thing which no Guru attempted to or could by any possibility attain.

The Gurus were supported mainly by fees payable by each member of their congregations, partly by fines levied from offenders. These fees and fines were usually collected during their visitations of districts, which took place periodically, attended in the case of the chief Pontiffs by every circumstance of pomp and magnificence ; the Gurus being carried in gorgeous palanquins or on the backs of elephants, preceded by heralds and bands of musicians and dancing girls, and accompanied by enormous crowds who testified their loyalty and love by loud shouts of joy, by words of praise and endless prostrations, by strewing the road with new cloths, and in many ways too numerous to specify. If the fees were not paid when due, the Gurus had recourse to every means of oppression and insult. The debtor was vilely abused in public ; mud and filth were thrown at him ; or he was compelled to do menial work till his debt was liquidated ; or his wife was taken from him. If no other means availed, he was as a last resort solemnly cursed : but as a Guru's curse was considered by the superstitious people of those times to be one of the



most awful misfortunes that can befall a human being, the mere threat of inflicting this punishment sufficed as a rule to procure payment of an arrear by the most obstinate of debtors.

When not engaged in itinerating, the Gurus usually lived in *maths* or monasteries situated near the principal Pagodas : and many of them, especially amongst those of the Saiva sect, were employed in managing the affairs of those institutions. The manager of the great Pagoda at Madura seems to have been always a *Pandâram* or Saiva monk in the times of the Nâyakkans.

The principal Pagodas with their enormous establishments, their officiating priests, dancing girls, musicians, sweepers, elephants, jewels, idols, and cars, were managed each by a *D'harmakartan*, or trustee and manager for life, who as stated above was usually a monk and Guru. He collected and disbursed the revenues derived from the lands granted to the Pagoda by the King and others, and from fees and offerings ; appointed the officiating Brâhmans and servants ; maintained in efficiency the staff of dancing girls ; regulated the ceremonies and ritualistic observances ; kept the records of the Pagoda ; and was sole referee in all cases of disputes touching the secular affairs of the institution. The *D'harmakartans* held but little communication one with another : and recognized no earthly superiors except the King himself. Each was independent of all control, and acted altogether as he pleased. This freedom led naturally to gross abuses, and the King was compelled occasionally to interfere in the management of some of the Churches. For instance, soon after Tirumala ascended the throne he discovered that the then manager of the great Pagoda in Madura had misappropriated the funds in his charge to a very great extent, and forthwith dismissed him. He then took the administration of the Church into his own hands, and finding that it had been terribly neglected declined to appoint a new manager until every abuse had been rectified.

The dismissal of this defaulter doubtless gave great offence to the Brâhmans : but they were soon appeased by the King granting to the goddess Mînâkshi lands yielding annually 12,000 Pons or £2,400 ; and they became more firmly attached than ever to the charitable Nâyakkan dynasty. Perhaps indeed it is not too much to say that that dynasty was mainly propped up and supported by the Brâhmans and clergy, and would never have survived the rebellions



and invasions which it had to encounter from the very first, had not the inherent weakness of the government been more than counter-balanced by the loyalty and devotion of the priesthood.

*Public Works.*—The great Nâyakkan does not appear to have directed his attention to what are strictly and properly called public works, namely roads, bridges, tanks, channels, barracks, public offices, jails and the like : or if he did, the notices of his reign which have come down to us are silent about the matter. It is clear however that there were roads in his time, for it is stated in one of the Mrutyanjaya MSS. that he built choultries or buildings for the accommodation of travellers along the whole road from Uttatûr the most northerly place in his dominions to Cape Comorin the most southerly. Moreover he could scarcely have carried out his great improvements in the town of Madura without at the same time making tolerable roads in its neighbourhood. Bridges appear to have been unknown in those days. Whether or no Tirumala built any large tanks for irrigational purposes does not appear. Probably he did not, as nothing is said about the matter, and as his predecessors had done so much in this direction. The repairs of tanks, or at all events the more important repairs seem to have been executed by the government; and to have been paid for out of the proceeds of the fishery of the tanks when drying up. A letter of 1713 states that the fishery of a single tank produced occasionally as much as 2,000 Ecus: and that sums so realized were invariably applied to the execution of repairs. The writer is speaking of the Marava country, but no doubt the system was the same in the Madura. Barracks were unnecessary under the military system which prevailed in Tirumala's time, and therefore there was no expenditure under this head. And so too with public offices. Every head of a department lived in a large rambling building, in which there was plenty of room for any number of subordinates and clerks to work; and the State never provided accommodation for its officers. There seems to be some ground for supposing that there were jails, for a letter of 1659 states that some Kallans opened all the jails in Tanjore, and let out a multitude of prisoners unjustly confined in them for alleged political offences. And if there were jails in Tanjore, there were probably jails in Trichinopoly and Madura.

The public works which principally engaged Tirumala's attention, and which have made his name famous, were huge solidly con-



structed works of a highly ornamental character, such as could not have been built by any other than a despot possessed of boundless wealth. It would be out of place in a work like this to give an elaborate description of these splendid monuments of antiquity, especially as they have been already photographed and fully described by others; and I shall only notice them very briefly.

The largest and most magnificent of them was the great Palace, which Wilson—I think without sufficient authority—believed to have been commenced by one of Tirumala's predecessors. It appears to have consisted of a number of large detached buildings, which together covered more or less completely a vast space of ground, and of which only one has survived the ravages of time and the more ruthless vandalism of Tirumala's grandson, Choka Nâ'tha. It is true that what is now the Collector's Office and the Jail are both of them said by some to have formed part of the Palace: but I think it may be assumed that they were really quite distinct from and unconnected with the main pile, inasmuch as they are of different styles, are complete in themselves, and stand at very considerable distances from the building which is commonly known as the Palace. This building consists of two parts, each in a very ruinous state. The larger of them is a massive, high-walled, square or nearly square brick-built enclosure open to the sky, of which the principal and deeper side forms a spacious hall, surmounted at its centre by a lofty dome-shaped roof supported by noble circular pillars of granite thickly coated with chunam and destitute of ornament. The sides at right angles to this are less deep, and form long arcades furnished with subordinate domes, and with upper galleries running along their whole length. The fourth side is similar in construction, but has no dome. Lofty pillars similar to those described above support the roofs of all four sides, which are each nearly a hundred yards in length and each open towards the interior of the enclosure. The central and unenclosed portion is said to have formed an arena, in which combats of wild beasts and gladiatorial exhibitions took place. The other part is of much smaller dimensions, being a lofty hall of perhaps ninety feet by forty covered by a pointed-arch solid brick roof, which is divided into compartments and strengthened by granite ribs springing from columns at the sides. Open galleries profusely ornamented with brick-work run round three sides, and are supported by stunted circular pillars. The style of both parts appears to be a mixture of



the Hindû and Saracenic, whilst portions of the work particularly the roof and pillars, give the spectator the impression that a European must have had something to do with the building: and tradition says though not very distinctly that Tirumala's architects were assisted by Europeans.

Of the more extensive and important portions which have utterly perished a description is to be found in a MS. translated in O. H. MSS. ; but it does not convey a very clear idea of the thing described, and is too lengthy for quotation. Perhaps however it will be well to quote a few lines which seem to allude to the two buildings above noticed.

"To the south of this is the *Swarga Vilâsam*. This pavilion is so constructed as to cause it to be said that in no other country is there a saloon equal to it, on account of its splendid ornaments, their excellence, number, extent, curious workmanship, and great beauty. To the west, in the midst of a great dome-shaped hall, is a square building of black stone, which includes a hall made of ivory: in the middle of this is a jewelled throne, on which the King is accustomed to take his seat at the great nine-nights' festival, surrounded by all his banners, or ensigns of royalty; and where all Kings are accustomed to do homage."

Next to the Palace the most important work was the *Vasanta* or *Puthu* mantapam, which still exists in a perfect state. This truly handsome building is an oblong of more than a hundred yards by between twenty and thirty, covered by a flat roof which is composed of long slabs of granite and supported by one hundred and twenty-four stone pillars carved in the ordinary Hindû style, about twenty feet high, and placed in four rows. According to Wilson's description which is borrowed from Blackader, the edifice is "purely Hindû" and blends the square and massive character of the general structure "with the singularly minute decorations, and luxuriantly fantastic development of the details."

The mantapam is said to have been built as a delightful retreat for the idol Sundara-linga during ten days in the hot month of May, and to have been distinguished by the epithet *Vasanta* (spring) in consequence. And it is surrounded by a narrow stone water-course, intended it is supposed to cool the air during the fierce heat of summer. Amongst the ornaments of the building are ten groups of sculptured



effigies, some colossal, some small, placed against ten of the pillars, and representing Tirumala and his nine predecessors and their wives. According to Wilson the work was begun in the second year of Tirumala's reign; was completed in twenty-two years; and cost upwards of a million sterling. But one of the O. H. MSS. states that it cost one lac of Pons or £20,000; and was finished in seven years having been commenced in 1626: and the latter account appears to be far the more credible. For, looking to the abundance of labor and the cheapness of money in Tirumala's time, it is impossible to believe that a building of so simple construction as the Vasanta mantapam could have taken twenty-two years to build, or cost so enormous a sum as a hundred lacs of Rupees. Moreover, Tirumala is said to have appropriated in accordance with his vow a lac of Pons to the execution of each of five great works, and to have commenced them all at the same time: and it is impossible, it seems to me, to believe that rich as he was, he could have ventured to undertake so many works at once, if one of them alone was to cost him a sum equivalent to forty or fifty millions sterling at the present time.

A work of equal solidity and perhaps even greater beauty is the *teppa-kulam*, or large stone tank built at a distance of about a mile and a half east of the town of Madura, round which the European residents so often take an evening airing. The tank is a perfect square, measuring it is said exactly twelve hundred yards. The sides are faced with cut granite and surmounted by a handsome parapet also of cut granite, which is pierced by flights of steps at suitable intervals, and adorned here and there in the Hindû style with figures of gods, and horses, peacocks and other animals. Inside the parapet a paved gallery runs round the whole, and affords a cool and pleasant walking place. In the centre is a square Island, also faced with granite, which forms the basement of a lofty dome-roofed temple several stories high but of moderate size. At the four corners of the Island are tiny ornamental temples rising from the angles of the stone-work: and the space between these and the main temple is filled in with ever-green trees. The whole effect is exceedingly tasteful; particularly as the tank always contains water. Once a year the sides and temples are illuminated with a hundred thousand lamps at sunset; and the idols from the great Pagoda are brought to the tank, and put on board a raft gaudily decorated and lighted up with blue and red fires; and slowly drawn round and round the



Island for some hours. If the night is fine and dark, the spectacle afforded is magnificent ; and many thousands of people come together to enjoy it. A raft of this kind is called a *teppam* ; and a stone tank built for the purpose of a *teppam* being drawn round it is called a *teppa-kulam*.

It is not quite clear how much Tirumala did for the great Pagoda. Tradition ascribes the building of its outer wall and four *gôpuras* to "the Pândyas;" and it has been suggested in page 83 ante, that possibly the Vilivânâthi dynasty were the builders of them. But Tirumala must certainly have spent vast sums of money in restoring and beautifying various portions of the edifice, for the Mrutyanjaya MS. which speaks of his doings says, he repaired and renovated the whole from the *garb'ha-griha* to the wall of Kapâli Udeiyavar ; and also that it was in his day that the Pagoda became glorious. And the Jesuits have gone so far as to ascribe the actual building of the Pagoda to him, see ante page 141. It must be remembered however that, whilst they were acute observers of passing events, the Jesuits of Madura were as a rule utterly ignorant of the history and antiquities of the land in which they were sojourning : and therefore their authority on matters connected therewith is next to valueless. Wilson casually speaks of Tirumala building a Pagoda, but I cannot make out to what building he alludes : and it seems probable that he was confounding repairs with construction.

Lastly there were the *Râyar-gôpuras*, or lofty stone and brick towers of many stories, of a truncated pyramidical shape and in style said to resemble somewhat the Chaldaic, which are usually found raised over the porches of temples. The Mrutyanjaya MS. says that Tirumala commenced building in various parts of the country, sixty-four of those large and expensive buildings in one and the same muhurta or auspicious moment, but was unable to finish them all ; and the history of the Karnataca Governors improving upon this story says, he commenced but did not finish ninety-six. There is only one *Râyar-gôpura* in Madura, and that was left unfinished : but I have been given to understand that others, also unfinished, exist in the Madura and neighbouring districts.

A work insignificant in size, but curious on account of its quaintness of construction, durability, and historical associations, should be mentioned in passing. This is the Tamakam, a two-storied building on the north side of the Veigei near Madura, erected by Tirumala



as a kind of grand-stand from which to see gladiatorial exhibitions and combats of wild beasts. It is now the dwelling-house of the Small Cause Court Judge.

*Education.*—The State did not conceive it to be its duty to educate or in any way assist in educating the people generally : and it seems probable that there were no schools in any part of the country in which boys belonging to castes other than the Brâhman could obtain a decent education. It also seems probable that with the exception of the Brâhmans, the village accountants, and a few officials and merchants' clerks, hardly any body could read, write or cipher : and that the population as a whole, was as grossly ignorant as moderately intelligent human beings could well be. But the education of the Brâhmans appears to have been provided for with a liberality and completeness such as perhaps have never in any country been excelled. A letter of Robert de Nobilibus, dated Madura, 22nd November 1610, tells us that at that time there were more than ten thousand Brâhman students in the Madura university, distributed in classes of two and three hundred, all of whom were not only educated, but also boarded and lodged and entirely supported by revenues flowing from magnificent endowments which had been made partly by the Râyar, partly by the Nâyakkan. The education furnished appears to have consisted of two grades : 1, an elementary education for boys, the nature of which is not described ; 2, a very systematic and in its way perfect education for adults. This last consisted of a succession of courses of study, of which the first was philosophical, the second theological. The natures of the remaining are unfortunately unknown, owing to Robert de Nobilibus' description of them being missing. The course of philosophy, which was denominated by the Brâhmans *Sintâmani* or the connection of thoughts and reasonings, took four or five years to master, and consisted of three distinct stages, which were named respectively evidence, science, and authority, and have been described by Robert in the following terms :—

“ Pars prima est evidentia et agit de invocatione seu adoratione : utrum sit aliquis Deus initio operis invocandus ; de certitudine, de perfecta certitudine, de certitudine per generationem et productionem de novo ; de formalitate certitudinis, de speciebus objectorum, de unione locali seu per contiguitatem, de unionibus diversis, formali, accidentali, etc. ; de prædicato et subjecto per negationem, de objecto



visus ; de indivisibilitate voluntatis, de splendore auri, de actus reflexione quo quisque se cognoscit et intelligit, etc., etc.

“ Pars secunda est scientia et agit de signis illationis, de sequela tantum, de inductione, de fallentia, de semine fallentiæ, de ejus confutatione, de subjecto, de discursu, de signo causativo, de omnimoda fallentia, de conjunctione secundum quid, de privatione, de effectu per causam, de omnimoda conjunctione ; de ultima certitudine seu consequentia, de causa, de evidenti probatione, de certitudine a simili, de errore, de dubitatione, de variatione suppositionis ; de falsa conclusione ex vero antecedente, de Deo Rutren, de multiplicitate causarum, de naturali vi et virtute, de virtute superaddita de novo.

“ Pars tertia est auctoritas et agit de auditu, de correspondentia verborum, de convenientia in communi, de unione affectionis, de desiderio, de corruptione soni, de corruptione totius mundi, de merito legis, utrum quod non est possit affirmari, de novitate, de annihilatione de propria impositione, de signo, etc., etc.”

The theological course, *Védântam*, consisted of enquiries into the nature of the deity, his attributes, &c.

It is stated in another letter of 1610 that these studies were carried on exclusively in the Samskrit language : and it seems to be perfectly clear that the study of the Vernacular languages spoken by the numerous castes of the country was entirely disregarded, and formed no part of the university curriculum.

*The Police and Criminal Justice.*—The King's peace was kept by a very simple and inexpensive arrangement. Each village, as shown before, had its own official machinery for the prevention and punishment of petty crimes committed within its limits : and where the *nattam* or residential portion of any village developed by chance into a town, a Dalakartan or other responsible officer was always placed in charge of it, and enabled to maintain order by means of a small body of troops and armed policemen. It only remained therefore for the State to keep the high roads free from robbers and cut-throats, and to prevent villages fighting one against another, or being looted by organized gangs of Kallans and other banditti. It was attempted to effect this by granting lands to Poligars and others, subject to the *désa-kāvali* or service of continually watching certain tracts of country or to the *pāthei-kāvali* or service of watching roads and mountain passes ; and it was incumbent on such grantees to pre-



vent within the limits of their charges not only robbery but violence and disturbances of every kind. When an ordinary criminal was apprehended, he was after more or less delay carried before the Poligar or Official within the limits of whose pâleiyam or criminal jurisdiction the crime had been committed, and perhaps brought to trial. If he happened to be a man of wealth and position, he was either never arrested ; or he was never brought to trial. Or if he was tried ; the trial was only a farce and terminated upon payment of a trifling penalty.

*Civil Justice* was administered in a very primitive manner : and cost nothing. The King appears to have sat sometimes in the Hall of Justice, and decided important suits in accordance as far as possible with the known customs of the caste or castes to which the litigants belonged ; and to have been aided in arriving at a decision by learned Brâhmans, his assessors. The decrees given were perhaps impartial and just, according to the rude ideas of equity then prevalent : but there must have been great difficulty in carrying a suit through the preparatory stages unless all or most of the people of the Palace were very liberally fed ; and it was no doubt necessary to give a considerable present to the King himself in return for the favor of admitting the plaint in the first instance. In the pâleiyams all important suits were decided by the Poligars, and probably with less impartiality than in the capital. Petty suits were referred to arbitration : or they were settled amicably by the intervention of common friends. And ordeals by fire, oil, water, and many other processes were also very much in vogue. Probably but a very small percentage of issues relative to property were ever regularly heard and determined : there were certainly no established courts of law, and few of the Poligars and other chieftains could have been sufficiently energetic, or sufficiently intelligent to do the work of Judges within their territories.

The kinds of suits commonly brought before the King for decision were probably suits for precedence in rank ; suits arising out of disputes touching the right to worship in a particular place at a particular time and in a particular manner ; or to set up an idol in a particular spot ; or touching the right to ride in a palanquin or assume any other highly prized privilege to the alleged detriment of the social status of individuals belonging to other castes. Thus when Tirumala was finishing the Vasanta mantapam, the Vaishnavites opposed the setting up in it by



the Saivites of a pillar on which was an effigy of the Ēka-pāda-mūrti; and the dispute was only ended by the King referring it to a pair of arbitrators for decision. On another occasion there was a dispute between the Sêdans or Tamil weavers and another caste as to which of the two castes was entitled to precedence in receiving betel-nut at public entertainments; and the King decided the question.

The principal items of governmental expenditure having been briefly remarked upon, it will be sufficiently obvious that Tirumala must have had a very large balance in his treasury every year after paying all necessary expenses. This balance was got rid of in the following manner. Enormous sums were spent upon the zenana; which, if not quite so crowded as those of certain Kings and potentates whom history has rendered notorious for erotic extravagance, at all events contained two hundred wives and many concubines. Vast funds were also sunk in the great Palace and other buildings, as we have seen above; and princely incomes were eaten up by whole armies of servants, retainers and hangers-on of every description, and by the herds of elephants and horses which were kept to swell the King's dignity. And almost every day one or other of the numerous religious and charitable institutions obtained a fresh endowment; or a largess was given to a few thousand Brâhmans; or the expenses of a great procession and fête were defrayed out of the royal exchequer; or perhaps a lac of Rupees was spent upon jewellery for an idol. Such were a few of the ordinary channels of expenditure; and it is not difficult to see that even Tirumala's wealth could not have been more than sufficient to keep them constantly full.

It will perhaps not be out of place to observe here that the indisputable fact that Tirumala was always in the receipt of enormous revenues, would go a long way towards refuting the commonly received idea that all his great works were accomplished principally by means of forced labor; even if we had not, as we have, good authority for the belief that all work done for Tirumala was punctually paid for. However patiently individuals belonging to the lowest castes may have endured an abuse of power of this nature at the hands of a bankrupt prince; they would hardly have submitted to it when practised by a King known to be rolling in riches, and believed as Tirumala was by the populace to have been indued with the magical power of turning base metals into gold. The most wily of Brâhmans and Gurus would surely have failed to reconcile work-



men to tyranny at once so gross and so mean. Moreover it has never been for one moment alleged that the goldsmiths who made the King's votive jewels, were forced to give their labor and gold for nothing; or that the merchants who brought the King diamonds and rubies, were forced to make a present of their valuable property; and such being the case, why should it be supposed that the sculptors, masons, bricklayers, carpenters, and other skilled laborers employed in constructing Tirumala's Pagodas and sacred tanks and idols and other works of art, were compelled to work ~~on~~ year after year without recompense or hope of reward? The belief seems to me to be preposterous: and I doubt much whether it would in the case of any man, survive a careful scrutiny of the elaborate and beautiful works which Tirumala's artificers have left behind them.

There are no private memoirs of the life of King Tirumala, as of the Emperor Baber and a few other great eastern despots, and it is therefore impossible to picture his daily life with any accuracy: but a few indications of what it was may be found here and there, and are not altogether without their value. He was probably an early riser, and though a large and corpulent man, one of active and energetic habits. As we know from Jesuit letters that all the more respectable castes of his time regarded even the moderate use of intoxicating liquors with the greatest abhorrence, it may be taken for granted that Tirumala was a total abstainer. But looking to the noble proportions of his effigy in the Vasanta mantapam, which was prepared under his own eye, we may at the same time take it for granted I think that he was by no means unmindful of the pleasures of the table. Having risen before sunrise, Tirumala probably employed the first few hours of the day, if he had no pressing public business to dispose of, in superintending the progress of some new building: or in looking on while his sculptors and masons were busy with a mantapam or an idol. Skilful workmanship specially delighted him; and he would sometimes encourage his best artists by a compliment or by a present of betel-nut from his own royal hand. Sometimes he would cross the river and go to the Tamakam, to watch a tiger fight with a buffalo, or a couple of athletes wrestle. Or he would mount his horse and ride off to the open plains north of his capital, and slip a cheetah at an antelope.

When the morning began to grow hot, he returned to the Palace and purified himself in the Hindû fashion by ablution. After this



came the principal meal of the day ; and then a long siesta during the midday heat. In the afternoon, if His Majesty felt inclined for business, audience was granted to such as had interest at Court ; and petitions were heard and disposed of orally. If not, he had many ways of passing the time ; and probably seldom felt weary and oppressed. He was fond of having learned Brâhmans in attendance upon him, and would often propound to them difficult ethical and metaphysical questions, to be argued out and disposed of then and there in his presence. Another favorite amusement was listening to wonderful histories or facetious tales. And wandering bards, minstrels, and improvisadores were often bidden to come and sing or recite before the King. And chess-players, pantomimists, actors, conjurors, snake-charmers, athletes, wrestlers, tumblers, all in a word who could please by their adroitness and skill, were encouraged to take up their quarters near the Palace, and were ready at a moment's call to perform before the King and his courtiers or the ladies of his family.

It was perhaps in the evening, after the torches had been lighted and the ceremony of the torch-salutation had been gone through, that the most important part of the day's work commenced. At that time Tirumala was accustomed to receive visitors ; to hear the latest gossip from his courtiers ; and to consult with his ministers about affairs of State ; a noisy band played the while, and the interminable nightly nautch moving slowly on. Late at night the King retired ; and all present took their leave. Such were Tirumala's ordinary amusements and occupations : but they were often varied by the occurrence of one or another of the innumerable religious ceremonies prescribed by the Hindû religion, and which in the Palace of a pious King would certainly be scrupulously observed. It is unnecessary to describe them, and we must pass on to other matters.

The distribution of wealth amongst different classes must have been very partial and unequal. The King was as we have seen enormously wealthy : and he greatly enriched his ministers and favorites, and also those of the Brâhmans and clergy whom circumstances brought into intimate relations with him. And probably the Poligars were with a few exceptions in the enjoyment of very large incomes, and well able to afford themselves most of the luxuries and enjoyments in those days procurable. But besides what may be called for convenience' sake the noble class, there could have been no very wealthy class in the country. The ordinary merchant had very



little chance of making his fortune in times when every jungle contained robbers, and when invasions of the country were of frequent occurrence, and attended invariably by wholesale plunder. The risk and cost of carriage must have been far too great to admit of the exporting of bulky goods : and the trade in valuables such as jewels and embroidered cloths was necessarily limited by the small number of those rich enough and bold enough to purchase them. The principal products of the country, grain, oil, fruit, vegetables, and cotton, were all raised for home consumption ; and the most astute of merchants could hardly become a millionaire by dealing in such commodities with the very few persons who were non-producers. Probably the Setti might easily make a modest competence ; but little beyond that. And had he attempted to grow suddenly rich by combining with his fellows and artificially raising prices, there can be little doubt that Tirumala's government would have dealt with him in a very summary manner, and effectually deterred him from repeating the experiment. What was the native idea of a merchant's duty, appears clearly from the Sathagam. Part of his duty was "not to lay on too large profits." If an honest man came to borrow, he was to lend him money cheerfully on his mere personal security, and without a pledge. And if the State required a loan, the merchants should lend even a crore of Rupees without a murmur. In fact the trader was to be useful to the State as a circulator of money and other commodities, and in return ought to be permitted to grow moderately rich under the protection of the laws.

Below the rank of merchants there was no one, who could by any possibility become rich in the modern sense of the word. The great bulk of the people were mere agricultural laborers, cultivating just enough land to support their families and dependents in a state of rude plenty, and perfectly contented with their lot. Living together in small villages, on terms generally speaking of the most perfect equality, the ryots of those days respected and self-respecting, never thought of rising in the world and had no desire to grow rich. So long as they and theirs had a small store of grain to fall back upon in hard times, could find a decent cloth to tie on at feast-time, and could buy a cocoanut or two to break now and again before their favorite idols, they were perfectly satisfied and happy ; and they were by no means ready to avail themselves of any chance which might promise to lead to fortune. They preferred to



abide where they were : and to crawl on, as their fathers had crawled on before them. Those who were not agriculturists or slaves of agriculturists, were for the most part artisans of the humblest kinds, who were sufficiently skilful to supply the wants of their villages, but unable to do anything more ; and who being usually remunerated for their services by small fees of grain knew nothing of money and its power.

The social condition of the people at large must have been one of utter stagnation and hopelessness. Most of them lived in small isolated villages, through which no travellers had occasion to pass, and to which news from the capital but rarely found its way. The ryots had nothing to do but to plough and sow and wait and reap, and then plough and sow and wait and reap again ; and they never left the miserable mud hovels which served them for homes except once or twice a year, when a feast or a vow called them to a neighbouring town. The Poligars never travelled if they could possibly help it. No foreign ships came near the coasts of Madura : and travellers from foreign lands were rarely met with, and then only in the neighbourhood and under the protection of the King or some great noble. Reading and writing, as we have seen before, were utterly unknown to all but the Brâhmans, the clergy and a few accountants : and what few arts were practised and understood, were each of them practised and understood only by a particular caste, which was ever jealous of its privileges and quite unwilling to teach anything to strangers. And moreover the public feeling with regard to the immutability of customs and inviolability of caste was so strongly developed, that so far from attempting to rise in the world by energetically setting to work and learning some new and profitable trade, the poorest and most wretched of ryots would probably have faced death itself sooner than use a new-fangled plough, or sow a new variety of seed. Consequently, there could have been no interchange of ideas, nothing new to think or converse about ; and nothing to amuse and exercise the imagination better than the idle gossip and silly stories passed from mouth to mouth at feast-time. All were on a dead level of ignorance and apathy ; all alike incapable of feeling a generous impulse, of making a noble effort. No wonder therefore if the monotony of such an existence was agreeably relieved from time to time by rebellion against a tyrant, or if hostile armies swooped down one after another upon a listless and dis-united people which was sure not to offer a gallant resistance. And no wonder if the



government of the Nâyakkans, showy and powerful as it was in appearance, proved to be utterly rotten at the core ; and at once fell to pieces on receiving a few heavy and well-directed blows. That it so fell to pieces, was undoubtedly a great blessing for Madura : and every real friend of the Hindû must feel glad that a state of things which was opposed to all improvement, and which rendered true happiness an impossibility to all classes, rich and poor, noble and degraded, was terminated in due time by the extinction of the Nâyakkan dynasty, and has been replaced by subjection to able and conscientious rulers. The old glory of the Brâhman has perhaps departed. But he still marches in the van, and has really lost but little by the change. Whilst the low-caste man has become manly and independent ; and as compared with what he was in Tirumala's time, energetic, adventurous, and anxious for enlightenment and progress.





## CHAPTER VIII.

FROM A.D. 1659 TO A.D. 1682.

*Tirumala's natural son is crowned King by the Ministers.—Kumâra Muttu threatens a civil war.—The new King shows spirit.—The Mahometans threaten Trichinopoly.—It is too strong for them.—They take Tanjore, and overrun the Tanjore country.—The craven Nâyakkan.—Death of Robert de Nobilibus.—His works.—Devastation of the country.—Famine and pestilence.—The Mahometans move off.—The King kills himself by excesses.—His son Choka Nât'ha a promising youth.—His great scheme.—Treachery of his Ministers and General.—The King punishes and dissembles.—More treachery.—The King takes the entire command of the army.—Happy results.—He overcomes his enemies.—Sufferings of the people.—Portents.—The Mahometans besiege Trichinopoly.—Their horrible cruelty.—Choka Nât'ha punishes Tanjore ; and chastises the Sêthupati.—The cow-birth.—Wicked Ministers, and wicked Kings.—Vandalism.—Persecution.—Peace for a few years.—The great war with Tanjore.—Its tragical end.—Choka Nât'ha makes his foster-brother Viceroy of Tanjore.—Choka Nât'ha's lethargy.—Ekoji is sent by Idal Khân, and becomes master of Tanjore.—Cabal in Trichinopoly.—Ekoji overruns Madura.—The Râja of Mysore also attacks it.—Famine again.—Ekoji's moderation.—The political situation.—The great Sivaji's irruption.—His treachery to his half-brother Ekoji.—War between Santoji and Ekoji.—The defeat of the latter.—Choka Nât'ha's irresolute conduct.—Sivaji's preparations and cruel oppression of his subjects.—Ekoji becomes an oppres-*



*sor.—Madura is attacked by Mysore.—Choka Nâ'tha deposed in favor of his brother.—Who is just as incapable.—Pitiable state of the country.—Famine, floods and pestilence.—A Mahometan adventure deposes Muttu Linga, and sets up Choka Nâ'tha as a puppet.—Mysore invests Trichinopoly.—Death of Rustam Khân.—Choka Nâ'tha's miserable plight.—Arasumalei defeats the Mysoreans, and drives them out of the country.—They retain Madura.—Choka Nâ'tha dies of a broken heart.*

IT will be remembered that when Tirumala Sevari died, his younger brother Prince Kumâra Muttu was about to march back to Madura in triumph after conquering the Râja of Mysore. When the news of his brother's death reached him, it was accompanied by news to the effect that the illegitimate son of the deceased, Prince Muttu Alakâdri, had been crowned King by the ministers, and he Kumâra Muttu, the rightful heir, had been passed over. The victorious Prince was by no means prepared to give up his rights without a struggle and lost no time in marching upon the capital; and there seemed to be every prospect of a civil war. However Kumâra Muttu halted at a village called Durvamanam (?) near Madura; and some negotiations took place between the rivals, which ended in Kumâra Muttu consenting to waive his claim and to accept in lieu of the crown the district of Siva Kâsi and other territories in the Tinnevelly province. We are not told what considerations influenced his mind in coming to this decision: and as he was undoubtedly the rightful heir, had proved himself to be a leader of ability, and was at the head of an army flushed with victory and presumably proud of their General, it is difficult to account for his conduct on this occasion. Possibly he found his troops to be wearied of war, and unwilling to commence another campaign. Possibly too, the ministers formed a more powerful party than he could hope to vanquish. Whatever may have been his reasons, he retired to Siva Kâsi; and passed the remainder of his days in obscurity, occupying himself with charitable works and with the improvement of the country which he had acquired.

The new King, Muttu Alakâdri, otherwise known as Mutta Vîrappa, being freed from all apprehensions touching the behaviour of his opponent and being a man of considerable spirit, announced his



intention of shaking off the yoke which the foolish and culpable conduct of his father had fixed upon the necks of his people: and to that end set to work to render Trichinopoly impregnable by strengthening its fortifications and completely furnishing it with troops and munitions of war. At the same time he made overtures to the King of Tanjore to join him in resisting the Mahometans. But the Tanjorean was not prepared to follow his example: on the contrary he sent an embassy to Idal Khân, the King of the Dekkan, and made him many offers in the hope of obtaining his favor and protection. However his efforts proved fruitless; and shortly afterwards a Mahometan army made its appearance in the neighbourhood of Trichinopoly, sent with the avowed object of over-running and reducing the whole of the southern country. But observing the preparations which had been made for his reception, the Mahometan General refrained from attacking that strong fortress; and moved off towards the east, as though intending to ravage the districts lying in that direction. Having disarmed the suspicions of the King of Tanjore by this ruse, he suddenly marched on his capital, and laid siege to it on the 19th March 1659. Being well fortified, and defended by powerful artillery and by a large army, and stocked with provisions sufficient for several years, Tanjore might have regarded with contempt the best directed efforts of an army which was unprovided with a single siege-gun. But the commander of the fortress having received a slight flesh-wound from an arrow shot at random, all his courage forsook him; and with a pusillanimity seldom equalled he yielded his strong fort to the enemy. Leaving a garrison in occupation of Tanjore, the Mahometan marched upon Manâr-Kôvil, a town a few leagues to the east, and took it without resistance. Thence he marched to Vallam, the third most important place in the country, situated a few miles east of Tanjore. This town was protected by a citadel built on a lofty rock, and of great natural strength, which had been greatly increased by skilfully constructed fortifications: and its defenders were apparently in a position to defy almost any Mahometan force that could be brought against them. And as the King had selected it as a place of refuge for his wives and treasure, there seemed to be every reason to expect that he would determine to hold it to the last. But his fears were too strong for him; and he fled ignominiously to the impenetrable jungles in the neighbourhood of his capital. Imitating his base example, the garrison also fled under cover of the night; and when the besiegers prepared to attack the fortress in



the morning, they were agreeably surprised at finding that it contained not a single occupant. They were disappointed however to some extent in their hopes of obtaining an enormous booty : for after the garrison had fled, a body of Kallans had entered the citadel and carried off large quantities of bullion, jewels and other valuable spoils. The Mahometans placed a small garrison in Vailam ; and then began to spread themselves over the country, plundering towns, and levying contributions from the unfortunate inhabitants of the rural districts. They appear to have marched south as far as Madura, causing everywhere the greatest confusion and alarm ; but the particulars of the invasion are not recorded.

It was about this time that the great missionary, Robert de Nobilibus, breathed his last. He appears to have left Madura in the year 1648, after forty-two years of labor in the mission of which he may be called the founder, with an utterly broken constitution and all but blind. He was removed by order of his superiors to Ceylon, in the hope that a milder climate might do something for his lost health, and that he might be enabled to give to the world a few more of those precious works which the fecundity of his genius still continued to produce. But the change was useless. The old apostle of the Hindûs could not bring himself to vary his austere mode of life, and being received in Ceylon, whither his fame had preceded him, with the utmost cordiality and affection, he could not refrain from making converts and preaching wherever he found himself ; and consequently instead of growing stronger, his body soon began to show signs of giving way altogether. And it became clear that his life was in danger. Upon this his Provincial moved him once more, and this time to a spot so remote from the scene of his early triumphs that no associations would be likely to tempt him to fresh exertions. He was conveyed to Mylapore near Madras, and lived there for some years in a little mud hovel, in company with four Brâhmans, his faithful friends and disciples, spending his time in composition and in earnest prayer and contemplation. At last the disturbed state of the country compelled his friends to remove him much against his will from his beloved hermitage ; and a few days afterwards, possibly unable to endure this new break in his life, the veteran died in peace.

The following appear to be the principal works of which Robert de Nobilibus was the author, works said to be admirable both in matter and in style ; whilst those of them which were written in Tamil are most remarkable for both grammatical and idiomatic elegance.



1. *The Kandam*, a Tamil work in four large volumes. It forms a complete body of theology, and was intended to be used as a means of converting the heathen and confirming neophytes in the principles of the faith. The style is simple and somewhat diffuse, in conformity with the taste of the Hindûs for whom it was written.

2. An abridgment of the *Kandam*, with thirty-two meditative sermons added.

3. *The Âttumânireiyanam* or knowledge of the soul, a Tamil work of severer and closer style than the *Kandam*, replete with words unavoidably borrowed from the Samskrit.

4. *The Toûchana-adikkaram* or refutation of calumnies, a Tamil polemical work, as indicated by the title.

5. *Les signes ou motifs de crédibilité de la religion révélée de Dieu pour conduire les hommes au salut.* The author establishes twelve of them, and shows that the pagans have them not.

6. *Le flambeau spirituel pour discerner la vérité du mensonge.*

7. *Dialogues sur la vie éternelle.*

8. *Règles de perfection*, supposed to be written by a young virgin for the edification of widows anxious to enter upon a life of religious seclusion.

9. *Cantiques Spirituels*, hymns devotional and mystic, suited for various classes of Christians.

The writer who gives this list adds that at the time he wrote, in 1660, those works were all of them written only on palm-leaves, and were in danger of destruction; but that he hoped to get them shortly printed. Were his hopes realized?

We must now return to the affairs of the King of Madura. Whilst the Mahometans were ravaging the country as described above under the leadership of two Generals named Sagosi and Mûla, the King of Madura kept within the walls of Trichinopoly, and waited patiently till his persecutors should think proper to retire. And at last his patience was rewarded. The cruel devastation of the country round Trichinopoly and in the direction of Tanjore led to a local famine, which within a short space of time compelled the population to emigrate in a body, some to the Madura country, some to the Sattiyamangalam. And then the Mahometans were reduced to the greatest extremities. Their horses died from want of forage; their camp-followers ran away; and thousands of them died of actual



starvation. So numerous were the deaths, that it was impossible to bury or burn the corpses; which were accordingly left in great heaps in the open fields. The effluvia arising from their decomposition, combined with the ill-health resulting from want of proper food, rapidly engendered a pestilence which carried off great numbers; and the panic and disorder which ensued were augmented by disaffection on the part of the principal officers. In these circumstances Mûla began to fear for his own safety, and attempted to compromise matters with the Hindûs by offering to withdraw his troops upon payment of three years' tribute. But this proposition fell through at once. The King of Tanjore had no longer anything to lose, and was safe in his jungles. And the Madura Nâyakkan was equally safe behind the walls of Trichinopoly, protected by a bold and experienced General Lingama Nâyakkan, and by a very numerous garrison. Accordingly Mûla laid siege to Trichinopoly in the vain hope of frightening the King into compliance with his demands. But famine and pestilence pressed sorely upon him; and the Kallans harrassed him by cutting off his stragglers, and by stealing into his camp almost nightly and carrying off everything upon which they could lay hands: and in a very short time he came to understand that to take Trichinopoly was a feat quite beyond his strength. And at last, after suffering considerable losses he was forced to content himself with a very moderate sum of money offered to him by the King; and striking his tents, marched out of the country.

Madura was now free from danger, and there seemed to be some prospect of her condition mending. But the King, instead of taking advantage of his good fortune to put his house in order and to bind up the wounds which his unrelenting enemy had inflicted, gave himself up to debauchery with a mad greediness, which in a few short months brought him to a dishonored grave.

He was succeeded by his son Choka Nât'ha, also called Choka Linga and Chokappa, a very promising youth of sixteen. His first act was to move the Court from Madura to Trichinopoly, at the suggestion of two of his ministers, into whose hands the whole government of the kingdom presently fell. These were the Pradâni, a Brâhman eminent by reason of his great capacity for business and long experience, and the Rayasam, a man who had possessed the entire confidence of the late King. Taking advantage of Choka Nât'ha's youth, these two ministers speedily contrived to usurp all power, and



applied it to the most selfish ends: and in order to render their position the more secure, they endeavoured to get rid of all the nobles and Officers of State who were likely to oppose their ambitious projects, by throwing some into prison and driving others into exile. But crafty and unscrupulous as they were, they did not dare to thwart all the generous impulses by which the mind of the youthful King was swayed; and it was with the enforced concurrence of the Pradâni that he resolved to carry out a scheme of startling magnitude, which, if somewhat difficult of execution, promised at the same time the grandest and most admirable results. This was no less than an expedition against the Mahometans, having for its object the restoration of the Vijayanagar Empire, and the replacement of the Nâyakkan of Gingi on the throne of his ancestors. Visionary as the scheme may now appear, it was in reality by no means impracticable: and no doubt an early success would have induced crowds of friends and adherents to rally round the Narasinga and unite in a last effort to free the South of India from the grasp of the hated Mussulman. But the thing was not to be. As a first step Choka Nât'ha sent his Dalavây at the head of a well-equipped army of 40,000 men, with instructions to attack Sagosi, and get possession of Gingi: and as Lingama Nâyakkan was well-known for his courage and military talent, the duty entrusted to him was one by no means difficult to perform. But unfortunately he was not above taking a bribe: and instead of carrying out his master's orders he sold himself to the enemy, and only wasted time and money in a long and bootless campaign.

Whilst the young King's interests were being thus betrayed abroad, treachery was at work within the walls of the Palace; and a conspiracy was formed with the object of deposing Choka Nât'ha and raising up his younger brother in his stead. It appears that the Pradâni and Rayasam had commenced to oppress the people most cruelly in spite of the King's opposition; and not contented with the power which they had already acquired, had attempted to treat their young master as a sort of State prisoner, confining him to a suite of rooms, and preventing all intercourse between him and his subjects. And proscriptions of the King's loyal adherents had been carried out so systematically, that scarcely one remained to assist and counsel him. The King resisted this mode of treatment, and at last told his ministers in unmistakeable language that he would submit to their thralldom no longer: and upon this they made over-



tures to Lingama Nâyakkan ; and having gained over that miscreant to their side, arranged with him to carry out the design above alluded to. But before the plot arrived at maturity, intelligence of what was going on was conveyed to the King by one of the ladies of the Palace, and he thereupon acted with an amount of vigour and discretion hardly to be expected from one so young. He wrote off at once to two officers who were in exile having incurred the displeasure of the traitors on account of their devotion to his cause, and directed them to secretly introduce a few soldiers into the Palace, and seize the persons of the ministers : and the order was executed promptly and successfully. Both the traitors were surprised. The Rayasam was cut to pieces on the spot : and the Pradâni, being a Brâhman and therefore not punishable with death, was subjected to the loss of his eyes.

Having freed himself from his enemies by this fortunate *coup de main*, the Nâyakkan summoned from exile and set at liberty large numbers of loyal dependents ; and surrounded his person with those of them in whose fidelity, understanding and courage he thought he could safely rely. Next he turned his attention to the capture and punishment of Lingama. Feeling too weak to attempt to effect this by open force, he resolved to veil his anger and await an opportunity of seizing the traitor unprepared : and accordingly he pretended to receive him with great cordiality on the first occasion of their meeting, and did nothing to excite his suspicions during a period of several months. At the end of that time he made an effort to accomplish his object : but it was ineffectual, and Lingama escaped to the camp of Sagosi, whom he succeeded in inducing to join him in besieging Trichinopoly. In a short time the confederates appeared before that fortress at the head of 12,000 foot and 7,000 horse ; and began to lay siege to it, notwithstanding the fact that the King's army then numbered not less than 50,000 troops. But the possession of superior strength is of little avail where treachery is secretly and cleverly practised : and dissensions amongst his men, mysterious losses amongst his officers, surprises by ambuscades, and various misadventures, for the constant occurrence of which the King was wholly unable to account, compelled him again and again to defer risking a general engagement of which the issue should not have been for one moment doubtful. At last the secret came out ; and the King discovered to his inexpressible chagrin that he had been a second time duped by his minister, who was a Brâhman and con-



nected by blood with him who had been disgraced. However he was equal to the occasion : having entirely disengaged himself from the clique of Brâhmans who surrounded and misled him, he resolved to trust no one for a time, and took into his own hands the entire command of the army. This bold step took the hearts of his soldiers by storm. Rallying round him to a man, they swore that they would implicitly obey his orders, and protect him from every foe : and their attitude was so unmistakeably loyal that the traitors had no resource left them but a speedy flight. And Lingama and Sagosi were compelled to fall back upon Tanjore, relying upon the support of the Nâyakkan who had in the first instance countenanced their project.

The presence of Choka Nât'ha inspired his troops with the greatest confidence, and thousands of recruits daily poured into camp and declared their readiness to serve under his standard : and this good feeling on the part of his men re-acted upon the King in so remarkable a manner that although almost a child in years, he astonished all beholders by the practical skill with which he handled his army, by the inflexible discipline which he maintained, and by the cool judgment which marked all his arrangements. Within a short time his reputation as a General had become so great that many of the enemy's troops came over to him ; and at last he found himself at the head of as many as 70,000 well-trained soldiers. With this force he threw himself suddenly upon Tanjore ; and the result was that upon which he had calculated. Lingama and Sagosi fled to Gingi : and the Râja of Tanjore tendered an unconditional submission.

The country was now permitted to breathe again for a short space : but the sufferings which it had endured for some years had been terrible ; and perhaps it is only in India, where agriculture is carried on with so little capital, and where the cattle are so easily hidden in jungles and upon desolate rocky hills, that a country could recover in a year or two of rest from ravages such as the South of India endured in the years from 1659 to 1662. The privations undergone by the Christians are described as having been truly heart-rending ; and an idea of their magnitude may be formed from the circumstance that upwards of ten thousand of them died of want and starvation. The greater part of the survivors barely kept themselves alive by emigrating to countries less sorely harassed than their own, and there



laboring as coolies amongst the heathen. Tanjore appears to have suffered even more than Madura, and almost the entire Christian population of that kingdom were driven out of it either by the fear of the Mahometans or by the pangs of hunger. And things were made worse—so say the Jesuits—by the Dutch decoying numbers of Hindûs from their homes and selling them as slaves. Probably they were only shipped off as coolies, in much the same manner as at the present day. Persecution too was not inactive; and the heathens accused the Christians of having offended the local deities, and brought drought and famine and all its attendant horrors by their impiety. But the young King checked their ignorant violence, and the Church remained unmolested for a time.

In the Madura country the year 1662 was distinguished by a number of extraordinary events, which filled the hearts of every inhabitant with alarm. Many children were born with complete sets of teeth; wolves, bears and tigers quitted the forests and roamed over the plains, and on several occasions came into the capital itself and prowled about the enclosure of the Church; many persons died suddenly from no apparent causes; and swarms of insects of kinds before unknown darkened the air and poisoned it with an intolerable stench, whilst their bites caused great pain. These unusual and unaccountable portents were regarded as the forerunners of calamities to come; and every heart was depressed with anxiety and fear. Cholera too or some other epidemic raged furiously, and in one respectable family alone seven persons were carried off in fifteen days. An eighth was attacked, but was saved by a missionary attaching to her arm an amulet on which was engraved a sentence of the Gospel.

The calamities supposed to be foreshadowed by the portents just described were not long in coming. In 1663 or 64 a numerous army of Mahometans commanded by one Vanamian, the most skilful and valiant of the Generals of Idal Khân, appeared before Trichinopoly; and the King was summoned to surrender at discretion. Choka Nât'ha was not at all alarmed at the menaces and array of power brought to bear against him, and contemptuously bade the enemy do their worst. Upon this a regular siege was commenced, and a well-directed fire was kept up by the besiegers during many days, whilst from time to time vigorous and determined attempts were made to carry the fortifications by storm. But the Hindûs fought well from behind their walls: a shot was fired for every shot of the enemy, and the storming parties were steadily and gallantly repulsed. And



although many of the principal quarters of the town were destroyed —amongst other buildings the Christian Church was utterly ruined —there were no signs of irresolution or apprehension discoverable on the part of the besieged ; and at last the Mahometan General was compelled to confess himself beaten, and the siege was raised.

But if Trichinopoly could not be taken, crops could be destroyed by cavalry, farm-houses could be burnt, unoffending Hindû ryots could be circumeised, children could be ravished, babes could be tossed upon sword-points ; and burning for revenge, thirsting for blood, mad with lust, this army of demons was spread out over the whole face of the country, and permitted to slowly satiate itself with enormities at which even Asiatic humanity must have shuddered. So great was the terror everywhere inspired by its approach, that sooner than fall into its bloody clutches, Hindûs slew their own families, and burnt their houses, and threw themselves mortally wounded into the flames. Sometimes whole villages were destroyed by the inhabitants, who afterwards sought a common death in the general conflagration : and in one instance, a Christian woman was dragged out alive from under a heap of four hundred corpses which lay rotting in one large building. At last, when their vengeance had been satisfied, or perhaps when no more could be found upon whom vengeance could be wreaked, the Mahometans entered into negotiations with the King ; and having persuaded him to pay them a considerable sum of money, marched off in triumph to their own country, proud of the booty which they had amassed, and happy in the thought that Allah's will had been worked once more upon the infidel.

As soon as they had gone out of sight, Choka Nât'ha hastened to carry out his intention of punishing Vijaya Râg'hava, the King of Tanjore, for having betrayed him and assisted the invaders. Putting himself at the head of a powerful force he marched to Tanjore ; and after fighting a few battles with indifferent success contrived to take the important fortress of Vallam. Upon this the enemy submitted to his terms ; and the King marched back to his capital, leaving a strong garrison in Vallam.

The next event, which occurred very shortly after this, was an expedition against the Sêthupati, who had been guilty of treason in refusing to assist his Lord when at war with the Mahometans. Choka Nât'ha marched into the Marava country, and took the forts of Thirupatthûr, Puthu-kôttei, Mânamadura, and some others of less



importance, and penetrating into the heart of the jungly districts obtained possession of Kâleiyâr-Kôvil. But his rebellious vassal regarded these losses with indifference, and only retired to safe retreats whither it was impossible to follow him. And after a time Choka Nât'ha became weary of conducting a guerilla warfare, and went to Madura to take part in some important religious ceremonies, leaving the command of the army in the hands of some of his officers. This change brought about unexpected results. The Maravan soon plucked up his courage, and leaving the jungles attacked the King's troops when an opportunity presented itself; and being well acquainted with all parts of the difficult country upon which the expedition was operating, was able to take them now and again at a disadvantage, and to obtain several minor successes. Eventually the King resolved to give up the idea of humbling his vassal's pride; and withdrawing the greater portion of his troops from the seat of war, contented himself with garrisoning and holding the principal places in the Marava country.

Whilst the King was engaged in religious exercises at Madura, a noticeable ceremony was being performed at Tanjore. This was the "cow-birth" of the King of that country. The Brâhmans persuaded him to have a colossal figure of a cow cast in bronze, and at the proper moment he solemnly entered its belly in the presence of a multitude of people, whilst prayers were offered up and hymns sung; and having remained inside for a sufficient time, during which innumerable prescribed ceremonies were performed, was at last brought into the world by the wife of the royal Guru who officiated on the occasion as midwife, and was dandled and treated like a newly born babe, of which he endeavoured to the best of his ability to imitate the cries and gestures. This ceremony is still performed, it is believed, in some Hindû States; and is supposed to be of peculiar efficacy in removing sin and impurity. The cow being regarded in the light of a divinity, and a divinity of a high order, the cow-birth is held to be a spiritual second birth. To make its efficacy complete, the cow should be cast in gold, and after the birth should be broken up into fragments and distributed amongst Brâhmans.

A letter of 1666 shows that there had been peace for some little time, and that nothing more remarkable had taken place than certain changes of ministers, rendered necessary by the intolerable oppression and injustice of which they had been guilty. The following passage gives a lively idea of their conduct:—



“ Le pradani de Tanjaour, pour remplir le trésor royal et faire sa propre fortune, avait donné à un brame l’autorisation de dépouiller tous les vassaux sans aucune forme de procès. Quiconque, à force de fatigue et d’industrie, était parvenu à recueillir quelque somme d’argent, était par cela seul un des coupables voués aux poursuites du ministre. En portant ce décret il n’avait en vue que les fortunes plus considérables, mais le brame qui avait aussi une bourse à remplir étendit l’arrêt à toutes les conditions ; et il employa pour l’exécuter des moyens si violents et cruels, que les habitants saisis d’effroi cherchèrent leur salut dans la suite. Les artisans suspendirent leurs travaux, les marchands fermèrent leurs boutiques, la plupart abandonnèrent leurs maisons, et le royaume presenta l’image d’un désert.”

The King of Tanjore is stated to have been even worse than the minister. He was perfectly cognizant of all that was going on, and did not interfere, hoping to be able to make a sponge of his servant and to squeeze out into his own coffers all that the Pradâni had sucked up from the vitals of the country. In this however he was disappointed. The Pradâni understood his master’s character perfectly well, and took measures to make away with all his ill-gotten wealth before the King’s warrant for his apprehension was issued : and when he was seized, not a Rupee was found in his possession. When he heard of this unhandsome conduct, the King was indeed angry, and having considered in what manner the villain could be most severely punished, handed him over to the people to be dealt with as they thought proper : and the people, it is to be inferred, tore him limb from limb.

The Pradâni of Madura had been guilty of the same crimes, and merited a like punishment : but Choka Nât’ha, who had by this time completely spoiled his naturally fine character by over-indulgence in those pleasures to which Asiatic nobles usually fall victims, instead of dismissing or beheading his wicked minister, fined him in the sum of three lacs of Ecus ; well knowing that the sufferers by this act would be his down-trodden subjects, and that he was in fact aiding and abetting the very offences for which he pretended to provide a punishment. But however bad was the state of things in Madura and Tanjore under Hindû Kings ; the state of Gingi under a Mahometan governor was infinitely worse. The Jesuit whose letter was quoted from above, declares his utter inability to find words in



which to describe the horrors daily witnessed in that unfortunate country : and adds that were he able to describe them no one would think his description entitled to credence.

Whilst his minister was barbarously oppressing the people, Choka Nâ'tha himself committed a most unpardonable crime. This was the wanton destruction of a portion of the great Palace at Madura. As he resided always at Trichinopoly, he felt it to be incumbent on him to build a sumptuous residence in that city ; and in order to save expense, perhaps too he was jealous of his grandfather's fame, he resolved to construct it as far as possible with the materials available at Madura. Accordingly the order was issued, and the work of demolition commenced ; and every day saw trains of waggons bear away handsome beams, curiously carved monoliths, magnificent pillars of black marble, in a word everything that was most excellent and admirable in an edifice which at that time was perhaps one of the very finest in all Asia. And this barbarity was unblushingly perpetrated in order that materials might be procured for the erection of a commonplace building which was never admired, about which history is altogether silent ; and at the cost of a people which had been ruined by long continued wars, and utterly beggared by the unremitting exactions of its ministers !

It does not appear in what way a reconciliation between Choka Nâ'tha and the traitor Lingama Nâyakkan was effected : but the latter is described as being the father-in-law of the former in 1666. And seeing that shortly before that time an invasion of the troops of Idal Khân had been daily expected, though it did not take place, it is probable that the King married his ex-Dalavây's daughter with a view to the political advantages likely to flow from the alliance.

It is observable that both Lingama Nâyakkan and Chinnatambi Muthali the Pradâni protected the Christians ; and it is recorded that both of them wrote to the Governor of Trichinopoly letters requesting him to treat the missionaries with kindness and assist them in every way. Nevertheless persecution abounded ; and nothing short of the indefatigable zeal which distinguished so many of the missionaries of those times could have sufficed to keep alive the simple faith of their converts, who in spite of wars, famines, epidemics, persecution, and worse than these the ridicule and bigotry of men of all castes, rarely renounced Christianity ; and as a rule, lived lives not inconsistent with the religion which they had adopted.

Of the events, if any, which happened between 1666 and 1673, no



record exists. But there appears to be good reason for supposing that the country was at peace during the greater part of that period. Probably Choka Nât'ha's reputation as a General saved the country from invasion : and he had long ago given up the schemes of conquest which amused his fancy in his early youth. But about the year 1674 there was a bloody and disastrous war with Tanjore, which resulted in the beheading of its King and the complete subjugation of the country ; and subsequently led to the most important results. As the Jesuit letters written during the above period never reached Europe, owing to the disturbances on the coasts caused by the incessant wars between the Dutch and Portuguese, it is not possible to state with certainty what were the circumstances which gave rise to this war with Tanjore, or those which led to the almost unprecedented act of beheading the conquered King. But one of the O. H. MSS. narrates the history of the war in a circumstantial manner ; and it will be well in default of better authority to present in substance the account furnished by it.

The war is said to have originated in the refusal of the King of Tanjore, Achyuta Vijaya Râg'hava, to give his daughter in marriage to the King of Madura. We are not told why he refused ; and considering the relative extent and importance of the two kingdoms at this time, one would naturally have supposed that the offer of marriage would have been gladly accepted, more especially as the two Kings had for some years been on friendly terms and were both Nâyakkans, descended probably from common ancestors. So confidential indeed were the relations between the two Courts, that a post had been established between Tanjore and Srîrang'ha, the sacred Island close to Trichinopoly, for the express purpose of enabling the King of Tanjore to constantly visit that holy place for the purpose of religious worship. The distance between the two places is only about twenty miles, and is said to have been traversed by the King every morning : though this of course must be taken to be an exaggeration. For some reason however he would not give his daughter to the King of Madura, but refused her in the most disrespectful terms. Perhaps he was induced to so act because he knew Choka Nât'ha to be the son of a bastard. Perhaps too he saw or fancied he saw a command from a superior rather than a request from an equal, in the message which he received from Madura ; and felt insulted rather than flattered by the proposal. Choka Nât'ha was furious when he received his answer. Not only was the Princess whom he desired to wed



reported to be beautiful in person, and at the same time possessed of extraordinary intelligence and good sense ; but the dignity of the throne had been affected, and his person had been grievously insulted in the eyes of his people. The insult must be washed out with blood, and the damsel forcibly brought away to his harem. Such was the King's resolve, and he forthwith ordered his then Dalavây, Venkata Krishnappa Nâyakkan, to collect a large army and march against Tanjore.

The General was within a few days prepared to start ; and having reverently placed the royal commission on his head in token of obedience, and taken leave of the King, he set out without delay and marched upon the enemy's capital. As soon as he had crossed the Tanjore frontier, he fell in with a detachment of Tanjoreans and drove them back with loss. He then pushed on and came up with the main division of the Tanjore army, and completely defeated it in a general engagement : and the enemy having retired in confusion behind the walls of Tanjore, he was enabled to invest that fortress with his whole force. Before commencing the siege however he respectfully proposed to the King of Tanjore to give up his daughter upon condition of an immediate cessation of hostilities : but although an old man, the King of Tanjore possessed indomitable courage and an inflexible will. In spite of the apparent hopelessness of his situation, he determined to resist to the very last ; and he deliberately insulted the envoys who offered him peace. Upon this the Madura Dalavây opened fire with batteries of heavy guns erected on lofty earthworks, and after a few days cannonade succeeded in making a practicable breach. The ditch was then filled in with fascines, and a general assault successfully executed. Having stormed the town, Venkata Krishnappa next surrounded the Palace with troops and once more called upon the King to do what was required of him. But still the old hero refused. He boldly declared that for him death had no sting ; honor was before everything in this world ; and no danger would ever induce him to alter his fixed determination. He would nevertheless fight for dear life and do his best to kill his adversary : so let his adversary do his best to kill him. Having said this much, he collected all his wives, concubines, children, slave-girls, and valuables in one room, and placed round the walls of it several pots filled with gun-powder. At the same time he armed all the ladies of the Palace with keen-edged swords ; and taking leave of them, bade them set fire to the powder so soon as they received the signal



from him. He then arrayed himself for battle. Round his shrivelled waist he wound several valuable scarves; his body he covered with the richest cloths, and with quantities of valuable gems; and his flaccid over-hanging eye-brows were caught up and supported by golden wires. Thus arrayed, and with a flashing sword in either hand, he passed through the Palace gates and presented himself before his astonished foes, looking more like some youthful hero than a veteran of eighty summers. Here he was met by his son, from whom he had been for some time estranged; and the two embraced for the last time, and were reconciled. After consulting together for a moment, they agreed that life was no longer possible for them, that the fatal hour had come, and the ladies should receive the signal. The King's son then entered the harem, gave the signal, and hastily withdrew. Immediately afterwards a double explosion took place; and all was over. Then the old King and his son, surrounded by their most devoted servants and guards, charged furiously into the thickest of the enemy: and after desperate deeds of valour were overpowered and taken prisoners. Their heads were forthwith cut off; and the victorious General carried them before his King together with a valuable booty, after leaving a garrison in the captured town.

Choka Nâtha was mightily pleased, and at once rewarded his Dalavây with titles and presents. The Pradâni also who had accompanied the expedition, Chinna Tambi Muthali, was greatly honored; and the keeper of the fort at Dindigul, China-Kâtthiran, the son of Rang'hana Nâyakkan of Tirumala's time, was sent home with many presents. He had shown himself a worthy son of his father: and the conquest of Tanjore was owing in no slight degree to his very valuable services.

The government of the conquered country was provided for by appointing the King's foster-brother, Alakiri Nâyakkan, Viceroy of Tanjore. And as he had lost his intended bride, the King married one Mangammâl, a daughter of the Râja of Chandragiri Dupakal, a woman of great intelligence and vigour of mind, who made him very happy.

After this, the MS. goes on to say, the King gave himself up entirely to a life of study, passing his whole time in reading those religious books with which every pious Hindû King ought to be well acquainted, namely the Mahâ B'hârâtam, the B'hâgavatam, and the Râmâyanam. And this seems to be a delicate way of saying that he gave himself



up to a life of ease and debauchery ; for a letter of 1676 tells us that he had become "a tyrant who knew no other law than his cupidity," and that his expropriations and cruelties had made people forget the despotism of all his predecessors, and had excited against him the universal execration of his subjects.

The immediate results of the annexation of Tanjore to Madura were the following. A son or grandson of the late King of Tanjore, whose name was Chengamala Nâyakkan or Dâs, escaped from the Palace during the confusion which ensued upon its destruction and fled for refuge to the court of Idal Khân ; who received him kindly, and promised to assist him. In accordance with this promise Idal Khân's General Ekoji, the Venkaji of Duff, and the half-brother of the great Sivaji, was despatched with an army to Tanjore, and directed to reinstate the refugee. But upon reaching his destination he found that the Viceroy was prepared for an attack, and that nothing could be gained by commencing a siege ; and accordingly he withdrew his troops to some distance, and resolved to wait patiently for a while, and watch the progress of events. What could not be done by force, might be done by intrigue and bribery ; and he had plenty of leisure to devote to the object in view. So thinking, he waited and watched and plotted for a whole twelvemonth ; at the end of which time his patience was rewarded by the occurrence of a rupture between Choka Nât'ha and the Viceroy which promised the fulfilment of all his hopes.

It is not quite certain how this rupture was produced : but it seems probable that the following were the circumstances which immediately brought it about. As Choka Nât'ha grew more and more indolent and averse to everything but sensual gratifications, a constantly increasing share in the general control of the government devolved upon the heir apparent (*Irandaivathu pattam*), his younger brother, Prince Muttu Alakâdri ; until at last almost the whole of the King's responsibility came to be vested in him. Muttu Alakâdri was by no means loth to use the power with which he was thus unexpectedly clothed : and a cabal appears to have been formed by him, the object of which was to oust the Dalavây and other ministers, and substitute for them favourites of his own. But Venkata Krishnappa was too formidable to attack openly, and his enemies durst not provoke him ; until one Gôvindappayya, a crafty and unscrupulous Brâhman, became Muttu Alakâdri's confidential minister and adviser, when the cabal began to grow bolder and more active. Gôvindappayya appears to have aimed at making himself Dalavây and usurping the government after throw-



ing over his patron; but he took great care not to excite Muttu Alakâdri's suspicions, and artfully contrived to induce him to gradually throw up public business, and give rein to pleasure. Having effected this, and having acquired a very considerable amount of power, the Brâhman next proceeded to deal with the King's friends and adherents, one by one. Chinna Kâtthiran was ordered to appear at once at the Palace; and on his appearance was sharply rebuked for having failed to treat the King's brother and the minister with proper respect, and directed to pay tribute in future at the rate of 10,000 per annum. He was then abruptly dismissed: and a brave and loyal servant of the Government was changed into an enemy. After this Gôvindappayya proceeded to tamper with the King's foster-brother, by representing to him that it was quite uncalled-for on his part to pay into the King's treasury all the surplus revenues of Tanjore, when he might very well keep them for himself. If he made it worth the minister's while, the minister would be his very good friend, and no harm should come of his disobedience. Alakâdri Nâyakkan was without much difficulty induced to see the merits of this proposition: and forgetful alike of his benefactor's generosity, and of the close ties by which he was bound to that benefactor, he suddenly declined to send remittances as usual to Trichinopoly, and declared himself to be independent. On hearing of this vile conduct the King grew very angry, and roused himself sufficiently to dictate a very indignant letter to his foster-brother, commanding him to return at once to his allegiance and pay what he owed: An ironical and impertinent reply was the only result: and the King angrily ordered his Dalavây to reduce the rebel to obedience. But if Venkata Krishnappa was ready to obey orders, he was wholly unable to withstand the influence of those who were planning his ruin: and he was thwarted at every step. Troops could not be got together; there were no guns; supplies were not forthcoming; a thousand obstacles were thrown in his way, and at last all attempts to carry out the King's orders were given up as hopeless. And after the King's anger had cooled a little, and he had relapsed into his usual state of lethargy, nothing more was heard of the intended expedition.

It was in these circumstances or in circumstances similar to these that Choka Nât'hâ quarrelled with his foster-brother: and as soon as Ekoji learnt how matters stood between them, he lost no time in taking advantage of the situation. Marching in the early part of 1675 to Tanjore, he threw his troops forthwith upon the outer forti-



fications, carried them almost without any effort; and then stormed the citadel before Alakiri had time to prepare for defence. Having taken the capital, he had no difficulty in establishing his authority over all the territories subject to it; and a few days afterwards he unexpectedly appeared before Trichinopoly at the head of a large force; and it is said that he might have taken that fortress also, had he made an immediate attack. But he was afraid of the risk of failure, and hesitated: and Choka Nât'ha was enabled to complete his preparations for defence. Seeing that it was hopeless to attempt to take Trichinopoly by a regular siege, Ekoji marched away and proceeded to make himself master of the various forts by which the Madura kingdom was defended. As on a former occasion, no opposition was offered to the progress of the invaders. Perhaps the King had been completely unnerved by his inordinate addiction to his favorite vices, and was afraid to measure arms with the Mahometans; or which is more probable, he had become so lazy and self-indulgent as to feel absolutely indifferent with regard to the sufferings of his unfortunate people. However this may have been, in a very short time Ekoji had made himself master of the greater part of the kingdom, and of all its principal places; with the exception perhaps of Sattiyamangalum which appears to have been seized about this time by Mysore, together with the fertile territories dependent upon it. And apparently nothing was left to Choka Nât'ha but the fortress of Trichinopoly.

These events were followed by a general famine, which pressed with peculiar severity upon the inhabitants of the districts lying on the boundaries of the Marava country. Vast numbers died of starvation, and still larger numbers emigrated to foreign countries: and to use the expression of a Jesuit who saw these things, nothing was to be met with in any direction but desolation and the silence of the tomb. And to make things worse, the Râja of Mysore and Ekoji were from day to day threatening to add to their conquests by fresh invasions. Not that the people objected to the country being conquered by a foreign power; for any change of rulers would bring a certain measure of relief. They objected only to the pillage and burning of houses and the tortures inflicted on the helpless which an invasion was sure to bring with it.

Meanwhile Ekoji omitted to carry out Idal Khân's orders with regard to the reinstatement of Chengamala Nâyakkan; and prepared to usurp the title and authority of an independent King. In this capacity he appeared to be resolved to act with extraordinary prudence



and moderation. Having declared that his sole object was to heal the wounds which had been inflicted on the country during the reign of his predecessor, and to develop the resources of one of the most fertile parts of India, he set to work to repair the channels and tanks which had been ruined by a succession of wars; and he was rewarded for his exertions by learning that the rice crop of 1675-6 was the largest that had been known for many years. But he was destined to be disappointed if he expected to enjoy the fruits of his good government without molestation. It was soon noised about that Idal Khân was preparing to march southwards and punish his rebellious vassal. And to the intense surprise of all who knew him, Choka Nât'ha suddenly shook off for the moment the lethargy which had for so long a time held him enthralled, and having succeeded in inducing most of his tributaries to join him in a grand expedition against their common enemy, soon afterwards found himself once more in command of a very considerable army; and engaged in extensive preparations for war.

At the same time the Râja of Mysore began to mass numerous bodies of troops on his southern frontier, and to strongly fortify the principal towns which he had taken from Madura, under the pretext of expecting an attack to be made upon him by his Mahometan neighbours. But it was currently reported that his real intention was to fall upon Madura so soon as Choka Nât'ha should have involved himself in a war with Tanjore.

Such was the political situation in the extreme South of India at the close of the year 1676; and we can readily understand the grief of the missionaries at seeing the wretched prospect which lay before them. In Gingi the state of things was just as bad. The Governor had been compelled by circumstances to revolt against Idal Khân; and in order to punish him, his country was being wasted by fire and sword.

The menacing preparations made by Mysore appear to have held Choka Nât'ha in check for some months; and then occurred the meteor-like irruption of Sivaji into the southern countries in the spring of 1677, an event so sudden and startling that all parties were content to abstain awhile from hostilities, and fix their attention upon the movements of the great Mahratta robber. Having possessed himself by means of those artifices with which readers of Indian history are familiar, of several of the provinces which formerly belonged to the Narasinga, Sivaji was now marching southwards at the head of a numerous and powerful army. Turning aside suddenly



in the direction of Gingi where he had previously secured the friendship of either the Governor Amber Khân or of his son or other officers associated with Amber Khân in the government of the country, he was enabled to take that almost impregnable fortress without an effort. After this achievement he continued to advance in the direction of Trichinopoly and Tanjore, sending forward messengers to Ekoji to request him to march out and pay him a friendly visit. Ekoji who had never as yet seen or spoken to his half-brother, appears to have been entirely ignorant of his treacherous character, and accepted the invitation with touching confidence. Hardly had he reached Sivaji's tent, at a spot just north of the Coleroon and a few leagues from Tanjore, when he was seized and put in chains; and it was explained to him that the spoils which the strong man had hoarded up in Tanjore, must be forthwith handed over without demur to a man still stronger. Sivaji wanted money and must have it. But Ekoji was fortunate enough to escape from custody in the night; and contrived to swim the river under cover of the darkness, and hide himself in the jungles which lay near his capital. His scheme having miscarried, Sivaji proceeded to make himself master of the provinces situated to the north of the Coleroon. But as the river was in flood, and at this time of the year—Wilks states that the interview between the two chiefs took place in July—might likely continue in flood on and off for some weeks, he was probably advised that it would be a hazardous and tedious business to attempt to throw his troops across it and invest Tanjore; and it also appears that it was inconvenient for him to protract his stay in the south, as his son was at this time sorely pressed by a Moghal army in the north, and required immediate assistance. Sivaji accordingly determined to hurry back through the Dekkan and disappear from the south as speedily as he came.

Before going however, he placed his brother or near relation Santoji in command of a numerous army, and directed him to retain possession at any cost of the districts dependent upon Gingi and those lying north of the Coleroon; and also to make such further conquests as circumstances might render possible. And in order that his General might not be misled by want of local knowledge, he associated with him a clever Brâhman of great experience, and in whom the greatest confidence might be placed. Santoji was a General of great reputation, indeed the Jesuit from whose letter the description of these events is taken, makes him out to have been the



most valiant captain who had yet made his appearance in the countries of the south, and he was at the head of a formidable force, but Ekoji did not hesitate to attack him; and having crossed the Coleroon soon after his half-brother had retired, offered the enemy battle. His offer was accepted, and a most sanguinary engagement took place. Santoji's army was superior in point of numbers and in equipment, and was better officered: but on the other hand that of Ekoji included a large number of soldiers whose wives had been ravished and children butchered during the sack of Gingi in the preceding spring. These men were burning for an opportunity of avenging their sufferings: and so impetuous and irresistible were their repeated charges, that at last Santoji found his troops were beginning to waver, and deemed it necessary to sound the retreat. But at this juncture his coolness and strategic skill served him in good stead and enabled him to win a victory where others would have doubted whether they could prevent a rout. Retreating slowly, he sent off a detachment of picked men to occupy a ravine situated in his rear and on the line along which he was moving, with directions to conceal themselves from view and fall on the rear of the enemy when he passed their position in pursuit of the main army. Having completed this movement, and informed his officers of what he proposed doing, he quickened the retreat of his troops and drew on Ekoji past the ambuscade; he then faced about and charged, whilst the detachment posted in the ravine sallied forth and fell upon the rear of the Tanjoreans with loud shouts and great rapidity; and after a few hours of hard fighting Ekoji's army was put to flight, and Santoji remained master of the field, though his loss exceeded considerably that of the vanquished.

Whilst Ekoji was thus engaged, Choka Nât'ha thought to take the opportunity of attacking Tanjore, and moved out of Trichinopoly at the head of his army. But his old dilatoriness overtook him, or he was hampered by the intrigues of a faction; and he suffered Ekoji's fugitive and demoralized army to re-cross the Coleroon and enter Tanjore under his very eyes without attempting to strike a blow. He then opened negotiations with Santoji, offering to supply him liberally with money on condition of Santoji putting him in possession of Tanjore. Santoji agreed to his terms: but the money was not forthcoming, and Ekoji availed himself of the delay to buy himself off with a considerable ransom. Choka Nât'ha thereupon broke up his camp, and returned to Trichinopoly covered with shame.



Having done all that he seemed likely to do in the south, Santoji rejoined Sivaji before Vellore; which had been blockaded for about a twelvemonth, and at last surrendered. By taking this fortress, Sivaji became master of a considerable portion of what had been the Vijayanagar empire; and contented for the present with the amount of territory which he had acquired, he now gave his whole attention to the strengthening of his principal cities, in order that he might be well prepared for the armies of the great Moghal, which he well knew would soon be sent to chastise him. Gingi in particular was strengthened by every means that could be devised. Extensive ramparts were thrown up round it, and flanked by wide and deep ditches and surmounted by towers at suitable points; and the existing works were repaired and considerably enlarged; until at last the place was rendered so compact and strong that the first engineers of Europe might have acknowledged it to be their creation without fear of incurring disgrace. Other fortresses were connected with Gingi by chains of hill-forts, and the whole were strongly garrisoned and provisioned for many years. And then the great Mahratta Chief felt secure.

In order to defray the expense of all these works, Sivaji had recourse to the most intolerable system of oppression. The whole of his dominions were given up to pillage; and his subordinates exerted themselves to fill his coffers with a persistent barbarity, such as perhaps has never in any country or at any time been equalled. All who could, forsook their villages and fled wherever it seemed possible to escape torture and robbery; whilst those who remained spent their days in anxious prayers for the coming of Aurangzib's armies, and the removal of a yoke to which no length of time could reconcile them.

This infamous example was followed to some extent by Ekoji, who deemed it necessary to recover from his unfortunate subjects the sums which he had been compelled by his half-brother to disgorge, and the hopes which had been entertained immediately after his accession to power were speedily dissipated. And the misery of the people was increased by the Maravans, who ravaged the districts bordering on their country; and though unwilling to come to blows with Ekoji's armies, repeatedly invaded his territories in large bodies, and cut off any detachments which they happened to fall in with.

Whilst such was the condition of other countries in the South of India, the kingdom of Madura was visited for its sins with even greater



misfortunes than it had yet been called upon to endure. Whilst Choka Nâtha was occupied in fruitlessly endeavouring to gain possession of Tanjore, the Raja of Mysore suddenly invaded Madura; and meeting with no opposition took the only two forts which yet remained to Choka Nâtha in the north. And whilst the invading army desolated the districts through which it passed, the ministers in Trichinopoly, headed no doubt by Gôvindappayya, dethroned and imprisoned Choka Nâtha pretending that he had become insane, and set up his brother Muttu Linga in his place. This change was unproductive of any benefit to the people. The new King was as great a tyrant as the old: and the whole land was filled with lamentations, and with curses on the heads of those whose wickedness had caused so many evils. But the cup of misery was not yet full. An extraordinary superabundance of rain on the western Ghauts and other mountains caused a kind of deluge in December 1677, which laid whole districts under water, and swept away many low-lying villages together with their entire populations. This as a matter of course was followed by famine, and afterwards by pestilence. And many of the starved wretches who survived these plagues took to brigandage in order to obtain the means of subsistence; and bands of armed ruffians overran the kingdom unchecked. The state of things witnessed in Madura itself in 1678 by Father P. André Freire is thus described:—

“ La capitale, autrefois si florissante, n’est plus reconnaissable ; ses  
 “ palais, jadis si riches et si majestueux, sont déserts et commencent  
 “ à tomber en ruines ; Maduré ressemble bien moins à une ville qu’à  
 “ un repaire de brigands. Le nouveau Nayaken est par excellence  
 “ un roi fainéant : il dort la nuit, il dort le jour, et ses voisins, qui ne  
 “ dorment pas, lui enlèvent à chaque moment quelque lambeau de  
 “ ses états. Les peuples qui n’ont qu’à gagner au changement de  
 “ domination, n’ont garde d’arrêter les envahisseurs, et tout annonce  
 “ que ce royaume, si puissant il y a vingt années, sera bientôt la proie  
 “ de ses ennemis, ou plutôt la victime de la politique insensée de son  
 “ propre gouvernement.”

This state of things could not last very long, and was terminated in the course of a few months by the deposition of the new King, and the restoration of the old. Muttu Linga had taken into his confidence a Mahometan adventurer named Rustam Khân; and placed in his hands the sole command of the numerous troops which garrisoned Trichinopoly. This worthy conceived that in the then unsettled



state of the kingdom, it would be well worth his while to attempt to make himself master of Trichinopoly ; and to govern the country professedly as the minister of the rightful King : accordingly the first time that Muttu Linga ventured outside the walls of the fortress, Rustam Khân shut the gates upon him, and having dragged Choka Nât'ha out of prison proclaimed his restoration. The first part of his programme having been performed with signal success, he next proceeded to overrun the country with squadrons of cavalry ; and easily reduced to submission whatever territories had till then escaped annexation by Mysore. And to such a pitch of audacity was he carried away by his good fortune, that he even made bold to appropriate to his own use the harems of both Muttu Linga and Choka Nât'ha ; in consequence of which barbarity two of the ladies attached to these establishments thought fit to preserve their honor by putting an end to their lives.

Rustam Khân enjoyed the fruits of his treachery for a period of two years, and then succumbed to a bloody fate. The armies of the Râja of Mysore commanded by Kumarâyan appear to have been holding for some time past all the more important places in the kingdom, including the capital itself ; and probably about the end of 1680, they completely invested Trichinopoly, having been lately re-inforced from Mysore. Soon after the commencement of the siege, Kumarâyan contrived to inveigle Rustam Khân into an ambuscade, and almost annihilated his cavalry ; and the traitor was forced to flee for his life within the city walls. The gates were scarcely closed behind him, and he was congratulating himself on his narrow escape, when Choka Nât'ha and a few devoted friends threw themselves upon him and his escort of Mahometans, and cut them to pieces to a man. The letter which narrates this event does not give the circumstances of the plot to which Rustum Khân fell a victim, nor the names of those who were engaged in it : but it appears clearly from the O. H. MSS. and from Ponnusâmi Têvan's memorandum, that the Sêthupati was mainly instrumental in killing Rustum Khân, and that he was incited to do the deed by that veteran intriguer Gôvindappayya.

Although he had regained his independence for the moment, and had apparently found some friends ready to help him, Choka Nât'ha's position in the year 1682 was far from enviable. His kingdom was irrevocably gone from him : and his one remaining stronghold was surrounded by no less than four considerable armies, each of which was occupied in watching him and waiting for its prey. These were—



1. The army of Kumarāyan which was actually besieging Trichinopoly; 2. An army of Maravans, who pretended to have come to the assistance of their Lord but in reality had only come to share in the booty which the sack of Trichinopoly was expected to yield; 3. The army of Arasumalei the General of Samboji, who was the son and successor of Sivaji deceased; 4. The army of Ekoji. The last two Generals pretended to be in alliance with the King of Madura, who had invited and paid them to come; and to be engaged in checking the aggressions of Mysore. But in fact nothing could be more clear to lookers-on than that their real intention was to deprive Mysore of its prey, only that they might feast upon it themselves: and Kumarāyan pointed this out to Choka Nāt'ha in making him the tempting offer of combining with him against their common enemies the Mahometans, and restoring the thrones of Gingi and Tanjore to their former and legitimate occupants. These promises were taken for what they were worth; and Choka Nāt'ha contented himself with doing what he had so often done before, namely awaiting with perfect indifference the progress of events set in motion by others.

Seeing that nothing could be done with that arch-idler Choka Nāt'ha, Kumarāyan next essayed to corrupt the fidelity of the Mah-ratta General Arasumalei, by the offer of enormous bribes to withdraw his troops to Gingi. If he could only effect this object, he felt perfectly sure that he could soon give a good account of Ekoji; and no opposition needed to be feared on the part of the Maravans. And even if he failed in detaching Arasumalei from his allegiance, time would be gained within which the Râja would send him re-inforcements. Such were Kumarāyan's plans and hopes, but unfortunately for him they were completely frustrated by the staunchness of Arasumalei, and by the treachery of his private enemies who intercepted his despatches, and preferring the gratification of pique and jealousy to the advancement of the public welfare prevented the Râja from knowing the urgent requirements of his General. Kumarāyan was not long in discovering this shameful conduct, and resolved at once to retreat. In order to effect this with as little loss as possible, he instructed the officer in command of his cavalry to march with his whole force to a certain point and there distract the attention of the enemy by threatening an attack upon his flank, whilst the infantry silently moved off in the direction of Mysore with the greatest speed consistent with order; as soon as the cavalry had effected its object, it was to be taken off at full speed and save itself as best as



it could. But this scheme also proved of no value. Arasumalei was a General not easy to deceive at any time; and having observed for some time Kumarāyan's inactivity and want of resolution, he was eagerly watching for an opportunity of closing with him and dealing him a crushing blow. Accordingly he did not permit his attention to be for one moment drawn off from Kumarāyan's infantry by the movements of the cavalry: but at the right moment pushed in rapidly between the two main divisions, and having driven off that which threatened to attack him fell upon the other with every available regiment; and after meeting with a very lukewarm resistance, cut it up almost to a man. There was nothing in the shape of a battle: it was simply a horrible butchery, which was limited only by the strength of the butchers. Kumarāyan was taken prisoner together with whole divisions of his soldiers; and an enormous booty, the fruits of years of pillage, rewarded the patience and energy of the victors. Profiting by this glorious victory Arasumalei soon commenced to extend his conquests in every direction; and by the end of a few weeks he had driven the Mysoreans out of almost every corner of the country. And all the Madura forts and strongholds which had fallen in their hands were taken from them, with the single exception of the fortress of Madura; which the Maravans enabled them to preserve, thinking that they were on the whole more eligible neighbours than Samboji.

Up to this moment the King of Madura had been sustained by an ill-founded hope that Arasumalei, his so called ally, would act up to his engagements and place him in possession of his own proper territories, in consideration of the assistance pecuniary and other which Arasumalei had received from him. But at length the scales fell from his eyes, and Choka Nât'ha saw that he was a completely ruined man. His dominions were gone; his troops had abandoned him; his treasures had melted away; friends he had none: and to crown his misfortunes, Samboji had turned upon him and had ordered that the siege of Trichinopoly should be prosecuted with redoubled vigour. In these miserable circumstances, and perhaps too being keenly conscious of the incredible folly and uselessness of his whole life, Choka Nât'ha fell into a profound melancholy from which he never rallied; and in the course of a few days died of a broken heart.

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## CHAPTER IX.

FROM A.D. 1682 TO A.D. 1705.

*Râmnâd affairs.—The Kilavan.—Ranga Krishna Muttu Virappa.—Ekoji's tyranny.—He plunders the Church.—The Mahrattas in Gingi.—Madura held by five powers.—The influence of Mysore in Madura declines.—The King recovers his capital.—And begins to re-construct the kingdom.—His character.—The Moghal's slipper.—Rebellion in Mysore.—The Kilavan's intrigues.—His Minister's treachery.—Persecution of Christianity.—The King dies of small-pox.—Death of his widow.—Regency of Mangammâl.—Her charitable works.—Her energy.—Martyrdom of John De Britto.—His life.—His writings.—Christianity flourishes.—The Kilavan invades Tanjore.—His success.—The trick played by the Râja of Travancore.—War with Travancore.—Tigers in Tinnevelly.—Sparseness of the population.—Tuticorin.—The Dutch.—Their commerce.—The pearl-fishery in 1700.—War with Tanjore.—Father Bouchet's interview with the Dalavây.—Character of the Dalavây.—The Kallans.—Victory over Tanjore.—The Minister's astuteness.—The dam across the Kâveri.—The Regency comes to an end.—Mangammâl's intrigue with her Minister.—Her cruel fate.—  
A ghost story*

BEFORE passing on to another reign, it will be well to make a short digression for the purpose of looking at the state of affairs in Râmnâd during the critical times with the description of which we have been occupied. It appears that the Sêthupati who was so faithful and valuable a servant to the great Tirumala, namely Rag'hunât'ha, after a long and useful reign of nearly thirty years appointed his nephew Râja Sûria his successor and soon afterwards died. This



was about the time when Choka Nât'ha was ruling Tanjore through his foster-brother, and Chengamala Nâyakkan was casting about for assistance to recover the throne of his ancestors. Amongst others he applied to Râja Sûria, and not unsuccessfully; though to what extent the Sêthupati compromised himself in the Tanjore business there is nothing to show. It seems however that he went far enough to incur the grave displeasure of the Madura Dalavây, Venkata Krishnappa; who contrived by means of an artifice to secure his person, threw him into prison in Trichinopoly, and there had him put to death six months after he became Sêthupati. After his death the principal Maravans could not agree in the matter of the choice of a successor, and the Government was carried on temporarily by an officer who had served the late Rag'hunât'ha in the not very distinguished capacity of a betel-nut bearer. And another Maravan named Athana was chosen to preside at the celebration of the nine-nights' ceremony, a duty of the very highest order in the estimation of the people of Râmnâd. Shortly afterwards the illegitimate son of the last Sêthupati succeeded in fighting his way to the throne; and commenced a reign destined to extend over a period of no less than thirty-six years. The correct name or title of this prince was Rag'hunât'ha, but he is better known in history by the soubriquet of "Kilavan" or old man.

One of the earliest acts of the Kilavan was the assassination of the two principal men by whose instrumentality he had climbed to fortune. He seems to have been afraid lest the influence which had been so successfully exerted in his behalf, might be on some future occasion exerted with equal vigour and weight in favor of a rival: and accordingly determined to rid himself in the only way possible of neighbours possessed of so dangerous power. Shortly after this he fell in love with a Kalla girl named Kâthali, the daughter of one of his dependents, and married her: and appointed her brother Rag'hunât'ha Chief of the District of Puthu-Kôttei, with the title of Rag'hunât'ha, Tondiman, in lieu of one Pallavarâyan Tondiman who had been attempting to detach the District from the parent State and incorporate it with the Tanjore country. The predecessor of Pallavarâyan was Chandrappan, entitled Sêrvei; and it seems to be inferrible that he was the first man created Chief of Puthu-Kôttei. The next memorable event in the Kilavan's life was the rescue of the King of Madura from the thralldom of Rus-



tam Khān, which has already been alluded to: from which circumstance he obtained the title of Para Rāja Kēsari, or lipn among foreign Rājas. It is said that he effected an entry into the fort by burning down the southern gate. Out of compliment to the Sêthupati, Choka Nāt'ha or his minister sent one Kumāra Pillei to Rām-nād to be the Dalavāy of the dependency: and the consequences of this appointment will have to be noticed hereafter. In the meantime we must revert to the history of Madura.

The unfortunate Choka Nāt'ha—unfortunate in coming into possession of unlimited power at an age when he ought to have been under a schoolmaster, and in that his evil fate ever surrounded him by men of the vilest stamp—was succeeded in 1682 by his son Ranga Krishna Muttu Vîrappa, a boy of fifteen. This nominal change in the government does not appear to have immediately benefited the country, which is said to have been delivered up to a complete anarchy and to an universal pillage; foreign enemies occupying all the citadels, while the robbers were masters of the rural districts, of the towns and of the villages, and carried on their brigandage everywhere with impunity.

In Tanjore, Ekoji's tyranny was steadily gaining in force and intensity; and after plundering his subjects of everything valuable which could be found in their hands, he now turned a greedy eye towards the abundant wealth in the possession of the Pagodas and other religious institutions with which the Tanjore country was so amply supplied. Hindûs are so notorious for superstitious fear, and Church property is in their eyes so very sacred a thing, that no one for a moment supposed it possible that Ekoji, the King of the country, he who was as it were specially bound by an implied agreement to protect all such property, would ever dare to lay a sacrilegious finger upon it: and his enquiries touching the revenues and possessions of the Pagodas were accordingly viewed without suspicion. It is difficult therefore to imagine the horror and indignation which filled the minds of the whole people, when it became known in the year 1682 that the King had not only seized and converted to his own use the whole of the treasures laid up in the great Pagodas, but had also sequestered the broad lands with which they were endowed. However incredible, the news was strictly true; and for perhaps the first time in history a Hindû King had robbed the Gods of his country wholesale and openly. The Brâhmans came before



him in the greatest distress, imploring him to have pity on them, inasmuch as their Gods could no longer be worshipped and supported; but the only answer vouchsafed to them was a sarcastic remark to the effect that their Gods did not eat rice, and a simple offering of sweet-smelling flowers was the best that could be made to them, while it cost next to nothing. The Brâhmans withdrew, and if curses can avail ought, it was possible in consequence of the maledictions by which they now relieved their feelings, that the coasts of Tanjore were visited shortly afterwards by a terrific tempest and by a storm-wave which rolled back the waters of the Kâvéri and other rivers and caused an inundation which destroyed thousands of human beings. One letter says that upwards of 6,000 souls perished in the districts near the coast: but a letter of John de Britto states that upwards of 10,000 perished in the district of Thiruvâdûr alone.

In the kingdom of Gingi there were no signs of improvement. Sivaji's successor his son Samboji is described as being a tyrant more cruel and more perfidious than his father. Father P. André Freire remarks in his letter of 1682:—

“Impossible d'énumérer les exactions, les brigandages, les  
 “meurtres qui désolent ce pauvre royaume. De nouvelles calamités  
 “et de nouveaux changements politiques sont annoncés: on dit que  
 “le Mogol, à la sollicitation du Maïssour, envoie une armée formida-  
 “ble contre Sambogi. En attendant, celui-ci poursuit ses con-  
 “quêtes contre le Maïssour, non seulement dans le royaume de  
 “Maduré, mais encore dans les provinces du nord, où il lui a enlevé  
 “plusieurs forteresses, toute la province de Darnabouri et d'autres  
 “terres voisines. Il paraît qu'il est secondé par l'Iquérian, ou roi  
 “du Canara, et par le roi de Golconde, qui se sont tous les deux unis  
 “contre le Maïssour, regardé comme l'ennemi commun. Je crains  
 “bien qu'une triste expérience ne leur apprenne ce que l'exemple  
 “de nos trois Nayakers aurait dû leur faire comprendre: que leurs  
 “véritables ennemis sont Ecogi et Samboji avec leurs hordes  
 “sauvages.”

A letter of John De Britto written in 1683 shows that in that year the Madura kingdom was still given up to brigandage, and in a state of complete anarchy; fragments of it being held by no less than five different powers. The King's authority was acknowledged over a small tract; the greater portion was in the possession of Mysore: the



Sêthupati had seized a part; Samboji another; Ekoji the remainder. But in consequence of the vehement attack made by Samboji on his home provinces, the Raja of Mysore had been steadily losing ground in Madura; and district after district was either establishing its independence, or attaching itself to a more powerful ruler. At last he was compelled to have recourse to artifice in order to keep the troops which garrisoned the capital supplied with money. On one occasion he sent 10,000 Pagodas by some religious mendicants. The coins were placed in pots supposed to be filled with Ganges water, and were carried almost to their destination; when the trick was discovered, and the pretended pilgrims arrested before they could hide their charge.

During the next three or four years the state of the kingdom appears to have improved, slowly indeed but surely. Shortly before 1686 the Mysoreans evacuated Madura, and the young King at once took possession of his ancient capital. And the Tinnevelly province also seems to have been recovered, if indeed it was ever lost, which seems doubtful. The Jesuits did not concern themselves much with the extreme south of the kingdom, and it is not easy to trace its history in their letters. And native MSS. apparently but rarely make mention of the Tinnevelly province. Many circumstances led to this re-habilitation of the Madura Nâyakkan, of which the following seem to have been the principal. In the first place Mysore was engaged in a protracted war with Samboji; and was also torn by internal strife to so great an extent as to incapacitate it from holding conquered territories which lay at any great distance from its capital. In the next place Ekoji had reduced Tanjore to such a state by his tyranny, that so far from being able to attack Madura he was wholly unable to protect his own country from the joint depredations of the tribes of Kallans and Maravans located on his frontiers. Then the Sêthupati was occupied with a rebellion headed by his Dalavây. And lastly Samboji seems to have devoted his whole strength to the prosecution of the war against Mysore, and altogether gave up his hold upon Madura.

In these circumstances it was an easy thing to re-construct the kingdom, provided that its ruler were a man of some ability and spirit. And the young King now in his twentieth year would seem to have been even more than this: and to have displayed an energy and independence of mind, which must have forcibly reminded the



older members of his court of his father Choka Nāt'ha, when young and as yet unspoilt by debauchery. Even the Brāhmans were unable to mislead him when he had once made up his mind how to act; as will appear from the following anecdote. On a certain occasion he had exercised his authority in behalf of some Christians, and ordered the chief priest of a Pagoda to give up some land which belonged to them; and when the holy man expostulated with him, and asked where could he place his idols? he is reported to have said, "If you do not know where to put them, you had better throw them into the river; but you must move out of that piece of land, and without another minute's delay." The young King is said to have been of active habits and fond of adventure; indeed if half the stories which are told of him in Hindû MSS. are not more than ordinarily exaggerated and overlaid with color, he would seem to have conducted himself occasionally after the fashion of a gay young English midshipman, rather than of a grave and self-contained Hindû potentate. But his love of fun and adventure did not lead him into idleness and vice. On the contrary he was essentially a man of business. He declined altogether to adopt the practice of leaving everything in the hands of his ministers and their subordinates and personally examined into the state of every part of his dominions, rebuking the negligent among his servants, encouraging and liberally rewarding the faithful and industrious. At one moment he would be superintending the construction of tanks in Tinnevely; at another repairing the fort in Trichinopoly; thence he would take horse and gallop without an escort into Dindigul; and perhaps the next day he would suddenly start for a tour of inspection through his northern provinces. Nothing escaped his vigilance; order and obedience were maintained; and it was admitted on all sides that the kingdom of Madura had not been so well governed for many long years.

The King's attitude towards foreign powers seems to have been quite in harmony with his attitude towards his own ministers and chiefs: and whilst he had no inclination to act aggressively he made it plain to all men that so long as he held the helm, the invasion of the Madura kingdom would be anything but a profitable undertaking. As an example of his mode of dealing with foreigners, may be adduced the amusing story of the Moghal's slipper. It seems that the Bādishâ in all the insolence and pride of power, adopted the practice of sending round his slipper to the various countries subject



to him. The slipper was borne along with great pomp and magnificence in a lofty howdah on a royal elephant, escorted by a numerous body of troops and preceded by bands of musicians. On its arrival within the boundaries of a country, the King and his ministers were expected to come forth and humbly abase themselves before it, and having escorted it to the palace, place it reverently on the throne and do obeisance as if to their Lord Paramount. Tribute was then collected, or at all events promised; and the Moghal's representative passed on towards a neighbouring country. As the slipper was always accompanied by an army, the required ceremonies were performed by most tributaries without demur: but when it came one day to the boundary north of Trichinopoly, and the young King came to know what was expected of him, he became furious with rage and resolved to teach the Bâdishâ a lesson which would not soon be forgotten. Accordingly he directed some of his servants to pretend that he was too sick to come out to meet the slipper, and to contrive to inveigle the officers in charge of it inside the fort. The Bâdishâ's emissaries were very much annoyed at the King not making his appearance and disbelieved the excuses made in his behalf. But there was no help for it; and they were compelled to enter the fort of Trichinopoly, their troops of course remaining outside the walls. When they were ushered into the presence of the King, after some little delay and with an absence of deference on the part of the gentlemen ushers which astonished and angered them not a little; the Nabobs found the King seated on a gorgeous throne, splendidly arrayed and resplendent with jewels; and surrounded by a brilliant staff of ministers and courtiers skilfully grouped together with a view to scenic effect, whilst the hall of audience had been magnificently furnished and decorated for the occasion. Scandalized at this presumptuous conduct on the part of a mere tributary they advanced with rude and indecent haste towards the throne, expecting every moment that the King would rise and make his obeisance. But in this they were disappointed: and when they reached the throne his majesty was still seated. Upon this they angrily thrust the slipper before his face, and made a gesture to him indicative of their desire that he should do his duty. The King now rose slowly from his seat, and with a voice of thunder bade them place the slipper on the floor. Alarmed by his threatening demeanour, the Nabobs did as they were bidden: and pushing his foot into the slipper, the King asked them imperiously where was its fellow? What meant they by



bringing as a present to so great a King as him but one odd slipper? The astonished Mahometans were then well-beaten with rattans and turned out of the fort. And at the same time the King put himself at the head of some troops, and sallying forth against the Bādishā's army defeated it with great slaughter, and drove the survivors in headlong haste out of his country.

This story looks rather suspicious at first sight; and its credibility is weakened to some extent by the statement of Ferishta to the effect that shortly before 1693 Zulfecar Khān exacted tribute from the rulers of Tanjore and Trichinopoly. See Wilks, vol. i, page 95. On the other hand there is a circumstantiality and a consistency in it that invite credence very urgently, and it is difficult to bring oneself to reject it altogether. And the idea of a slipper being carried in procession is not new or strange, since we have seen above (in page 161) that the King of Tanjore had his Guru's slippers so carried, and himself paid homage to them. Unfortunately there is a blank in the series of Jesuit letters for this period and they afford no evidence for or against the truth of the story.

It was observed a little way back that Mysore was torn by internal convulsions soon after the death of Choka Nāt'ha; and as the account of these disturbances furnished by the Jesuits varies very considerably from that furnished by Wilks, it will be well to state shortly what appears to have happened. In order to defray the heavy expenses incurred by the ruinous war with Sāmboji, the Rāja of Mysore practised in the eastern portion of his dominions so gross and intolerable a system of oppression, that its population revolted against him in a body. Having elected two Gurus of sects, one a Saivite the other a Vaishnavite, to be their Generals, the rebels formed themselves into two armies; the larger of which consisting of 70,000 men marched straight upon the fortress of Mysore, in which the King had ensconced himself; whilst the second consisting of 30,000 men spread itself over the province of Sattiyamangalam and the adjoining districts, and indulged in indiscriminate plunder and excesses of every kind. The King's officers and ministers were tortured and murdered wherever caught; villages were burnt; loyal chiefs were besieged in their forts; in a word, the furious mob acted as furious mobs always act, and for a time the country was given over to horrible disorders. At last the Rāja collected a considerable body of troops, and sent them against the insurgents with directions to cut them down without mercy and



without regard to age or sex; and his cruel orders were carried out to the letter. Moreover the principal Pagodas of Siva and Vishnu were destroyed, and their enormous revenues confiscated. And thus the revolt was stamped out. Compare with this Wilks' account at page 207 of vol. i.

Whilst the young King of Madura was slowly and painfully cementing together and building up again the fragments into which his kingdom had been split, the Kilavan Sêthupati was engaged in various intrigues and proceedings, the outlines of which it is not very easy to trace. It appears that in 1686 he took the side of the ex-Dalavây Venkata Krishnappa who was in revolt against the King of Madura. And for some reason which cannot be discovered the two entered into a confederacy with Chengamala Nâyakkan, the man whom Ekoji had supplanted in Tanjore, and who seems to have been living in perfect amity with the usurper; the agreement being that Chengamala should furnish troops and money to use against Madura, and that in consideration of this aid the Kilavan should cede to Tanjore for a term of twelve years the districts lying between the Pâmbâr and Puthu Kôttei. Meanwhile Kumâra Pillei, the Sêthupati's Dalavây, who it will be remembered was sent to Râmnâd out of compliment in the time of Choka Nât'ha (see ante page 207), thought proper to rebel against his master, and formed a plot to seize him and Venkata Krishnappa and deliver them to the King of Madura. But before this perfidious act could be accomplished the intended victims were apprised of what was going on; and the traitor was himself seized and most cruelly punished. His hands and feet were cut off, and he was then impaled on a sharp stake. His brothers were punished in a like manner; and all his wives and near relations were put to death on the same day. As Kumâra Pillei was a persecutor of the Christians, his fate seems to have afforded undue pleasure to the Jesuits: and the writer of the history of John de Britto observes "*un seul jour vit s'éteindre le persécuteur des chrétiens et toute sa race maudite,*" an observation scarcely becoming in a Christian priest.

Shortly after this the royal troops overran the whole of the Marava country; and a skirmish took place near Râmnâd between them and the troops of the Sêthupati which led to no particular results. But a few days later a decisive battle was fought, in which some troops of Ekoji, sent to the Sêthupati's assistance under the command of Varaboji Panditan, took part: and on this occasion the advantage was



altogether on the side of the ruler of Rāmnād. The King's troops were hastily withdrawn : and apparently the war was brought to a close, as nothing more is said about it in the memoirs of those times.

It is observable that although the young King did much to shield the Christians, there was more persecution about this time than in any previous period. It was especially rife in the Marava country, and had there begun to assume that more violent form which as we shall see arrived at its full development a few years later in the brutal murder of John De Britto. The sole reason for this, as far as can be gathered from the gossiping writings of the Jesuits, seems to have been the animosity excited in the minds of the Hindû clergy by the circumstance of their fees and emoluments being every day reduced in value in proportion as converts to Christianity became more numerous. Had it not been for this inevitable incident, and had not the society of Jesuits been suppressed in 1774, probably the greater part of the population amongst whom the Madura mission worked, would at the present day be Christians.

That this is no exaggerated view will be clear from the fact that Father Bouchet, writing in 1700 from Madura, states that during the five years preceding he had baptized with his own hands more than eleven thousand persons, and during the twenty years previous no less than twenty thousand ; and that during this last period he had confessed more than a hundred thousand. His separate cure was one of thirty thousand souls ; and he was only one of many workers. And thirteen years later the number of converts was in excess of a million.

About the year 1688 or 89 the young King of Madura was attacked by small-pox ; and to the misfortune of his country was carried off by that terrible disease. He left no issue : but his widow, Muttammâl, was far advanced in pregnancy and subsequently gave birth to a son and heir. A curious story is told about her in one of Mr. Taylor's MSS., which is in a great measure corroborated by a Jesuit letter of 1713. It appears that Muttammâl was the only wife whom the late King had ever married, and was utterly inconsolable at his loss. So poignant indeed was her grief, that she insisted upon burning herself with him, although likely to bear an heir to him within a very short time : and it was with difficulty that her mother-in-law, the dowager Queen Mangammâl, persuaded her to defer her self-cremation until after she should have lain in. She refused to listen to reason for a long time, and it was not until an oath had been taken by her nearest



relations to the effect that her fixed resolve should be carried out eventually, that she was brought to consent to wait. In due time a son was born, and the widow immediately called upon her relations to keep their promise. But she was put off day after day with excuses; and at last in sheer despair drank a quantity of rose-water on the fourth day after her delivery, and so brought on a violent cold which killed her.

The account given in the letter, which by the by was written between twenty and thirty years after the event alluded to took place and was apparently founded on hearsay evidence, makes out that after vainly trying her best to save her daughter-in-law, whom she loved, Mangammâl at last left her to her folly. The letter also states that Mangammâl had herself escaped Satî on the occasion of Choka Nâtha's death through being pregnant, and had subsequently contrived to avoid the performance of the customary rite by maintaining that there was no one but herself capable of bringing up the newly born infant, and that it was necessary that she should act as guardian to the minor King and govern the kingdom until he came of age: and it appears from the letter that when she urged Muttammâl to follow her example, Muttammâl indignantly rejected the proposal, and alluded in no measured terms to the dishonorable course which her mother-in-law had in her own case thought proper to pursue. Looking now to the fact that this account is founded on hearsay evidence, and to the fact that Mangammâl was certainly guilty of dereliction of duty in not accompanying her husband to another world, and would therefore have a strong motive for attempting to prevent the pious conduct of her daughter-in-law being publicly contrasted with her own to her very great discredit, I conceive that the Hindû story is the more correct; and that in all probability Muttammâl was not permitted to perform the rite of Satî. Perhaps too we may go a little further than this, and admit the possibility of the fact that Muttammâl drank something considerably stronger than rose-water; and that the fatal draught was administered at the instigation of Mangammâl. The natural jealousy of a Hindû woman would supply an adequate motive for the act: and if tradition has not dealt too hardly with the name of Mangammâl, she would scarcely let any conscientious scruples stand in the way of the gratification of any strong passion.

When the infant was three months old he was crowned King; and his grandmother proceeded to administer the government in his



behalf as Regent. Whether she was a murderess or not, Mangammâl soon made herself very celebrated for charitable deeds. Besides building many agrahâras, temples, tanks, and choultries for travellers, she is said to have made roads from "Kâsi to Râmêshwara, to Cape Comorin, and to other places," and to have planted avenues of trees along them to give shade to wayfarers, and furnished them with water-booths and wells. This was the most useful perhaps of her charities; and her name is gratefully remembered through several of her avenues being still in existence, and remarkable for their loftiness and beauty. The statement that a road was made as far as Benares (Kâsi) savours of the romantic but it may be accounted for by the fact that a fine choultry was certainly built by Mangammâl in that holy city: a Hindû historian who knew this, would feel no difficulty in believing that the Queen also built a road to that choultry.

A very curious reason is assigned by native writers for Mangammâl performing so many charitable acts. It is said that one day she inadvertently put betel-nut into her mouth with her left hand instead of with her right, and on the Brâhmans representing this to be a very serious offence against religion she resolved to expiate it by munificent expenditure on all kinds of religious works. Such a reason seems at first sight to be so very inadequate, not to say absurd, that Mr. Taylor has suggested the possibility of the native historians having sought to veil an amorous escapade with terms conveying a less serious imputation than that of unchastity. But although it must be admitted that there are not wanting grounds for this ungallant suspicion, it is perhaps not unreasonable to believe that the charitable acts flowed naturally from a charitable disposition, and that the story related with so much seriousness originated in some little pleasantry of the Queen-dowager on the occasion of her forgetting for a moment which hand she was using. She may have told the Brâhmans of her mishap, and when they advised her to avert ill effects by performing some act of charity, she may have vowed that she would do certain great deeds which she had already resolved upon doing.

The long regency of Mangammâl was doubtless distinguished by many events of more importance than the planting of avenues and the erection of choultries; for she was certainly a woman of great spirit and enterprise, and it seems probable that whilst she held the reins of government the Madura kingdom occupied almost the same position in the eyes of the world, that it had occupied in its palmiest



days under the great Tirumala. But unfortunately there is a blank in the Jesuit letters which extends from 1687 to 1699, both years inclusive; and it is therefore impossible to give the events of the regency with any fulness. And this is the more regrettable in that Mangammâl was the last of the Nâyakkan family in whose time the kingdom exhibited any signs of strength and vigour: her successors being tools in the hands of factions, whose petty quarrels and intrigues rendered the country an easy prey for the first foreigner who thought it worth the seizing. A proof of the vigour of the government during the regency is afforded by the circumstance that in 1691 when Father Mello was imprisoned in the Marava country and was about to be put to death, an order for his instant liberation was issued by the Madura Dalavây and obeyed without demur. As the Sêthupati of that time was the Kilavan who intended to share in the pillage of Trichinopoly, and subsequently joined Venkata Krishnappa in a successful war against the King, the fact of an order from Trichinopoly being respected within the limits of his dominions is one of some significance.

The year 1693 was rendered memorable in the Marava country by a lamentable attack on Christianity, which culminated in the martyrdom of that great missionary John De Britto. He had succeeded in curing of a grievous disorder and in subsequently converting a prince named Tirya Têvan, who is stated to have been the rightful heir to the throne of Râmnâd and to have been set aside in favor of the Kilavan. On his conversion, Tirya Têvan was compelled to renounce polygamy and to tell his wives that all except one must thenceforth be nothing more than sisters to him. The ladies of his harem very naturally regarded this resolution in the light of a grievous insult, and after repeatedly attempting in vain to induce him to permit them to continue at all events to live with him as his wives, resolved to revenge themselves on the author of their humiliation. In pursuance of this resolution one of them named Kadalei, who was the niece of the Sêthupati, went off to Râmnâd and laid her case before her uncle with all the effect that could be produced by vehement entreaties, by tears and sobs and groans. What! cried she, was it to be endured that she, a princess of a noble house, should be driven like a dog from her palace by a vile magician, a low impostor? And were the ancient Gods of her country to be openly disgraced by a stranger? Was the whole country to bow to the Parangis?



These and other arguments of a like nature were sufficient to move the Sêthupati to great anger; and he wrote at once to Tirya Têvan, bidding him to forthwith arrest the foreign Guru and burn down all his churches. Not content with this concession Kadalei induced a certain Brâhman named Pompavanam, well known for his hostility to De Britto, to espouse her cause: and shortly afterwards a deputation of Brâhman waited upon the Sêthupati and represented to him that the safety of the kingdom was manifestly imperilled by the progress of Christianity. Not only they said was the worship of the Gods of the country neglected, and their Pagodas falling into decay; but the whole country was becoming tainted with Parangism. Moreover the Sêthupati had expressly forbidden De Britto to show his face within the limits of his dominions; and notwithstanding that order the wretch was propagating his doctrines more assiduously than ever. If this were permitted with impunity, what would become of the Sêthupati's authority? In conclusion they advanced an argument which could hardly miss its mark, to the effect that if the Sêthupati did not interfere in time the majority of the population would in a year or two become Christians, and Tirya Têvan would then be in a position to pull the Sêthupati off the throne which he had usurped.

This last argument told with irresistible force, and the Kilavan resolved upon instant action. As a first step he sent for Tirya Têvan, and examined him touching the truth of the allegations made against him. But here he met with a boldness and steadfastness by which he was completely baffled. The new convert admitted without hesitation that De Britto had been preaching the true faith in the Marava country; had built four churches; and had made many converts: and as for himself, he was proud to be able to say that he too was of the number of those converts. The Sêthupati would have been only too glad to punish this insolence with instant death. But Tirya Têvan was a man whose high position and connections could not be overlooked, especially as the Kilavan's title was notoriously bad: and accordingly the Sêthupati resolved to inflict on De Britto the punishment which he was afraid to inflict on his rival. A company of soldiers was sent to the village of Muni, where the doomed man was temporarily residing; and about midday on the 8th January he was arrested, together with a Brâhman and two catechists who were anxious to share his fate. One of them was a subject of the King of Madura, and as soon as this fact was discovered he was set at liberty:



but he refused to avail himself of his freedom and was therefore again taken into custody. The four prisoners were chained, and attached by long ropes to the saddles of four horses ridden by members of their escort, and were thus dragged along at a rapid rate, fainting with fatigue and smarting under the blows with which they were plied whenever they showed any signs of exhaustion. De Britto in particular was pitifully weak from ill-health, and his state was such as would have moved the stoniest heart to compunction: but the hearts of his conductors were of something harder than stone, and every time he fell he was punished by an extra lash. However as he stumbled on bleeding and exhausted, he was cheered and in a measure invigorated by the touching marks of sympathy displayed by the Christians whom he met along the road. Everywhere they crowded round him, doing their best to console him, mingling their tears with his, and which touched him more nearly, promising to remain staunch to a man in spite of all that their enemies might do to them. When the cortége reached Anumanta-kudi, De Britto was taken to a large open space and tied to an enormous idol-car; he was then ordered to call upon the name of Siva in the presence of a vast concourse of people, and on his refusing with a gesture of horror to commit this impiety and pronouncing instead the name of Jesus, he was subjected to a course of ill-treatment such as was once undergone by the master in whose behalf he was about to suffer death. He was buffeted; men spat on his face; his garments were torn into shreds; he was pricked with sword-points; he was beaten with sticks. During the infliction of these tortures he opened his mouth only to bless God, and to express his thankfulness at being permitted to share in his Saviour's sufferings. His companions were subjected to a like treatment: and exhibited a like constancy. At length night put an end to this pitiful scene and all but seven guards retired to rest. These were soon overcome by drowsiness and slept: and had De Britto wished to escape nothing could have been more easy. But he had for years longed for martyrdom and now that his hopes were about to be realized it would have been strange indeed had he wished to defer their accomplishment.

On the 11th January the prisoners reached Râmnađ, and were thrown into prison pending the arrival of the Sêthupati. He came to his capital a few days later; and immediately proceeded to deal with his victims. But Tirya Têvan also was in Râmnađ, and exerted himself in every way to save his friends: and for a long time nothing



decisive was attempted. The Brāhmans were active in pressing for vengeance and in endeavouring to get rid of De Britto by magical incantations: and the Sêthupati longed to gratify his cruelty. But the incantations produced no results; and as De Britto was commonly held to be a great magician, a superstitious dread of offering violence to him operated strongly on his persecutor's mind. Then again Tirya Têvan's persistent efforts to save his friends could not be lightly disregarded: and lastly the existence of so many Christians in his dominions made it doubtful whether the judicial murder of their chief Guru would not excite unpleasant disturbances. These and many other considerations swayed the mind of the Sêthupati for many days: and at last he meanly resolved to do what he wished, but to do it through an agent on whom should rest the responsibility and odium of the deed. Accordingly a proclamation was made to the effect that De Britto was sentenced to be banished from the kingdom; and he was forthwith sent off under escort to the Sêthupati's brother the Governor of Oreiyûr, a fortress on the northern frontier of the Marava country, situated on the river Pâmbâr. But with him there was sent a secret despatch bearing the Sêthupati's signature, and containing an order to behead the foreign Sanniyâsi. He arrived at Oreiyûr on the 31st January, and on the next day was rejoiced by learning his fate from the mouth of the Governor. The execution of his sentence was delayed for three days by the interposition in his behalf of the chief wife of the Governor, who was a Christian: and it was for some time doubtful whether her tears and entreaties would not prevail. But the Governor's minister was a sworn enemy of Christianity, and was as fervent in demanding the death of De Britto, as De Britto's protectress was in demanding his release: and he succeeded at last in persuading the Governor, who appears to have been a weak and irresolute man, to direct that the sentence should be carried out. Accordingly on the 4th February De Britto was taken to an eminence which overlooked the fortress and surrounding country, and there beheaded. His head and limbs were cut off and hung up as a warning to all Christians: and even after he was dead, the hatred of his enemies did not slumber. Burial was denied to his mutilated remains, which were given to the birds of the air and the beasts of the field; and it was only with the greatest difficulty and after repeated failures that members of his flock succeeded in eluding the vigilance of the agents of the Marava government, and gathering together his skull and a few of his bones.



Such was the end of John De Britto, one of the greatest of those great missionaries whom the Church of Rome has trained up to the common glory of all mankind. This is not the place to give his life : but a few brief particulars regarding his remarkable career may prove not uninteresting. Jean Hector De Britto was born at Lisbon on the 1st March 1647. His father, Don Salvador De Britto Pereyra, held high office under the Duke of Bragance ; and having contributed not a little by his faithful and energetic efforts towards the elevation of that Prince to the throne of Portugal, obtained as a reward the important post of Governor of Rio-Janeiro ; and died after holding it two years. His widow Dona Béatrix Pereyra was a woman of a lively intellect and of a deeply religious nature, and controlled the education of her young children with equal intelligence and assiduity. And the lessons which she inculcated into the pliable and generous mind of the future martyr, inspired him with the noblest sentiments and shielded him from the thousand temptations which could not but assail one of his birth and brilliant qualities in a gay and luxurious court. When he arrived at early boyhood, De Britto was admitted to the honor of forming one of that band of young nobles whom Pedro IV trained up under his own eye with a view to them becoming in due time ministers and counsellors of uncommon ability and attachment to the throne : and in this position he became at once distinguished on account of the high-bred simplicity of his manners, the beauty of his disposition, and more than all by the striking elevation of thought which he constantly displayed. He was taught by Jesuit masters, and proved the most apt of pupils. Nothing delighted him more than the study of the works of the greatest Greek and Roman authors, unless perhaps it was the study of the lives of great missionaries and more particularly that of Francis Xavier. So devoted indeed was he to this latter kind of literature that his gayer companions gave him the soubriquet of the martyr.

As he grew up, young De Britto withdrew himself more and more from the society of his fellows, and became engrossed with the idea of becoming a Jesuit, and above all a missionary. His views were at first greatly discouraged by his mother : but her tenderness of heart yielded gradually to her strong good sense, and she ceased at last to dissuade her son from obeying what he felt to be a special call. The Infant and the Queen Regent were equally opposed to De Britto adopting a religious life : he had especially endeared himself to the former in the capacity of page and companion, and the latter was



unwilling that her son should lose a friend and adviser of so rare a talent and disposition. But at last all obstacles were overcome, and on the 17th December 1662 De Britto entered the house of noviciate.

He commenced his new life with the greatest ardour and devotion: and quickly earned the character of being one of the most orderly, pious and charitable of the self-denying fraternity amongst whom he lived. At the same time he prosecuted his studies with enthusiasm, and rapidly made himself an accomplished scholar. But his mind was never for one moment diverted from his one great aim; and in 1673, in spite of the tears of his mother and the interference of the King, he sailed for India as a missionary. He reached Goa in the same year; and there completed his theological studies; and passed the *ad gradum* examination. The next year saw him enter upon his career as a missionary, attached to the Madura mission. For several years he worked with the greatest industry and success, enduring with calm equanimity, persecution, hunger and thirst, ill-health, and the manifold ills incidental in those days to the profession which he had adopted; and in 1683 he rose to be Superior of the Madura mission. His administration was attended by peculiarly happy results; and his zeal and ability did not escape the notice of his superiors, who in 1688 appointed him Procureur de la Mission. He was therefore compelled to quit India. On his return to Europe he received the most flattering marks of consideration and esteem at the hands of his sovereign, and of the highest dignitaries of the Church: indeed he would seem to have met with an almost triumphant reception. Universities vied with one another to obtain the honor of conferring professorships on him; illustrious students clamorously demanded to be instructed by him; the King himself almost implored him to be tutor to the royal family. But honors of all kinds were firmly but respectfully declined; and De Britto never lost sight of his intention of returning to India whenever an opportunity presented itself. At last he was permitted to return, and was offered the Archbishopric of Cranganore. This was declined on the ground that missionary labor was that in which alone he could engage with delight and profit: and accordingly in 1691 he was once more at work as a missionary, this time in the Marava country. Persecution was more active now than it had been when De Britto was Superior of the Madura Mission; and his sufferings from 1692 to the time of his martyrdom, borne always with unflinching courage and a sweet patience worthy of the divine example which he, if any man, perpetually kept before his eyes



and imitated, were such as have been endured by few, perhaps by none other voluntarily provoked and joyfully accepted. His life during this period appears to have been passed in hourly danger of attacks by persecutors, by robbers, by wild beasts. It was passed by him in wandering through dreary jungles, exposed to pitiless storms and inundations, to pestilent malaria, and every form of disease: the day being spent in painful concealment whilst the night was devoted to preaching and itinerating. To these incidents must be added a wretched diet of rice and bitter herbs utterly insufficient for the requirements of health, the want often of even a hovel in which to take rest, complete isolation in the midst of a brutal and hostile population, and last but not least the daily spectacle of the hopeless misery to which the country was reduced by wars and famine. Such was De Britto's life: and surely it was fitly crowned by the martyrdom to which he had from his earliest youth aspired.

Though sufficiently qualified by his talents and by his education to be an author, De Britto did not imitate the example of Robert de Nobilibus; and if he was the author of any works, they have perished and nothing is known of them. It seems probable however that his purely missionary labors occupied his whole time and attention and left him no leisure for composition. Perhaps too he was wanting both in breadth and subtlety of intellect, and his mind was in no degree characterized by that anxious love of enquiry and that argumentative combativeness which distinguished Robert. And the varying circumstances in which these two great Jesuits worked, tended to separate their paths. The one found it necessary to devote himself principally to the attack of an elaborate and imposing system of religion, and to the establishment on a sound and enduring basis of another system diametrically opposed thereto and totally unknown; whilst the other found Christianity well understood and appreciated in South India, and made it his business to enlarge, adorn and strengthen an existing edifice. The one had to destroy and build up; the other only to preserve and improve. Consequently whilst Robert has left behind him voluminous and able contributions to polemical literature, John has left nothing but a series of letters, admirable as memorials of the life and labors of a truly pious man but of no great literary value.

The murder of John De Britto, so far from injuring the cause of Christianity appears to have advanced it very considerably. The



example of his constancy and heroism inspired converts with an earnest desire to emulate his faithfulness. And the occurrence real or supposed of many miracles, wrought through the medium of his blood which was spilt on the sands of Oreiyûr, gave a new impetus to the faith of those who hung back; induced the wavering to give in their adhesion to the faith. Then even the heathens were indignant at the unnecessary cruelty with which a Guru had been treated, and sympathised to some extent with his followers. And lastly both the Governor of Oreiyûr and his minister died of horrible and mysterious diseases within a twelvemonth after the martyr, and their deaths were not unnaturally attributed to the anger of the offended Deity. Moreover the former of them was replaced by a man eminently favorable to Christianity, though not a convert. This was Vaduga Nât'ha Têvan, the eldest son of the Sêthupati. So great was the liberality of this Governor's mind, that he encouraged in every way the performance of pilgrimages to the scene of the martyrdom; refused to permit his minister to levy fees from the pilgrims who resorted to Oreiyûr in vast numbers; and at his own proper expense converted the summit of the hill on which the execution took place into an agreeable promenade, embellished with avenues of lime and citron trees. This conduct was the more remarkable as the father of this Prince continued to be most hostile to Christianity, and during the five years which immediately succeeded the death of De Britto persecuted his Christian subjects so hotly and unrelentingly that no missionary dared to show himself within the limits of the Sêthupati's dominions.

Although a persecutor of Christianity, probably from an honest belief that its progress imperilled his position as Sêthupati, the Kilavan appears to have been an able and politic ruler: and a story is told in the life of John De Britto of an intelligent heathen refusing to believe that Christians were well-behaved people, on the ground that if they were, so wise a man as the Kilavan would never have condemned their Guru to an infamous death. After his war with Madura, the Kilavan pulled down the mud walls of Râmnâd and replaced them with solid stone fortifications; having an eye no doubt to the probability of his having to go to war with Tanjore about the matter of the ceded districts north of the Pâmbâr. According to the terms of the convention of 1686 Tanjore was bound to give back those districts in 1698, upon the expiration of the term of twelve years. But when the time came for the fulfilment of this



stipulation the King of Tanjore hesitated to act up to his engagements. Upon this the Sêthupati, who seems to have anticipated a breach of faith, lost no time in invading the Tanjore country at the head of a considerable army; and after some hard fighting he succeeded in obtaining possession of the fortresses of Arundângi, Thirumayang-Kôttei, and Kîranilei, and of all the country south of the Ambuli river. The fortress of Puthu-Kôttei he was unable to take. The war was then brought to a close, and from that time forth the Sêthupati appears to have remained in undisturbed possession of his northern territories.

It was about the year 1698 that a curious event took place in the Travancore country which deserves notice. The King of Travancore, encouraged no doubt by the disordered state of the Madura kingdom under Choka Nât'ha, had for many years been very irregular in remitting his tribute to the Nâyakkan's treasury; and it had been necessary on several occasions to send an army of Vadukans to collect arrears. As the only means of entering the dependency was through a narrow rocky defile in the neighbourhood of Cape Comorin, which could be easily defended by a comparatively small number of troops, the King of Travancore determined to attempt to put an end to these periodical visitations by annihilating the next army which should make its appearance within his boundaries. It occurred to him at the same time that he might make use of the invaders before destroying them, in getting rid of some obnoxious ministers. It appears that from time immemorial it had been customary for a body of eight ministers to manage the entire government of the country: and by gradual encroachments these ministers had skilfully contrived to usurp all power, and had at last reduced the King to the condition of a mere puppet. The present King had vainly endeavoured to free himself from the thralldom which custom had imposed upon him; and he now resolved to effect by treachery what he had as yet been unable to effect by fair and straightforward methods. Accordingly he conceived and successfully carried out the following plan. An army came through the pass in 1697, and proceeded as usual to devastate the country in every direction, and finally blockaded the King in Korkulam (? Kollam or Quilon) which was his principal fortress. Upon this he secretly opened negotiations with the Generals in command of the besiegers, and offered to make over to them Korkulam and certain districts if they would assist him in overcoming his



enemies, the ministers. The offer was gladly accepted, and having been placed in possession of the fortress the Madura Generals proceeded to carry out their part of the agreement by seizing and putting to death one or two of the ministers, the others escaping by flight or buying themselves off. Soon after this, when the Vadukans had dispersed themselves about the town and were in complete disorder, the King of Travancore, who had pretended to be alarmed and had withdrawn apparently for safety to a spot a few miles distant, suddenly collected a large force, threw himself upon the fortress, and having carried it without resistance fell upon the Vadukans and in a short space of time almost destroyed them. A small body fled in the direction of the pass, only to find it closed by a detachment of troops; and they were very shortly overtaken by the main body of the Travancore army, and being hemmed in on all sides were slaughtered without mercy. Only a few stray fugitives found their way back to Trichinopoly.

It was probably in 1698, and owing to a desire to revenge herself for this tragical defeat, that Mangammâl entered upon the war with Travancore which is described in the O. H. MSS. It is stated at page 224, vol. ii, that the Malayâla people ceased to send the usual tribute-money; and that thereupon Mangammâl caused a large army to be collected and despatched it against them under command of the Dalavây, Narasappayya. He entered their country, and conquered them after much hard fighting and returned to Trichinopoly with a very considerable booty, consisting of specie, jewels and guns. The last were numbered in order, one, two, three and so forth, and mounted part on the ramparts of Trichinopoly, part on those of Madura. Tradition is silent with respect to these captured guns. Enquiries about them were made by me, but no one in Madura appeared to have ever heard of them: and I was informed that when the fort of Madura was dismantled many years ago, no such guns were then upon the ramparts.

A letter of 1700 states that for sometime past a large jungle on the Tinnevelly coast had been infested by tigers to so great a degree that after sunset no inhabitant of any village situated in its neighbourhood dared to move outside his door, watch was kept in every village at night, and large fires were lighted for the purpose of scaring the monsters away. Even in the day-time travelling was not quite safe: and numbers of people had disappeared who had



without doubt been seized and devoured in lonely places. This fact is noticeable, inasmuch as tigers have been for many years unknown in the Madura country, and I believe in the Tinnevelly; and their existence in large numbers on the sea coast in 1700 would seem to show that the country was much more sparsely populated, and contained many more uncultivated tracts than at the present day. And the letter which speaks of the tigers, furnishes us with other evidence going to support this position. It states that with the exception of Tuticorin, there was not a single town or even large village to be seen along the whole coast from Cape Comorin to the Pâmbam pass, a distance of forty French leagues. Of the miserable villages which existed, the principal were Taley, Manapar, Alandaley, Punicaël, and a few others not worth mentioning.

Tuticorin, the only harbour on this coast in which a European vessel could attempt to pass the stormy season, is described as being a flourishing town of more than fifty thousand inhabitants. The Dutch had a few years before built a small fort there for the protection of their trade, and several large and handsome storehouses: so the town looked very well from the roadstead, but as soon as a visitor set foot upon the shore, all its comeliness disappeared and he saw that it consisted almost entirely of miserable mud cabins.

The Dutch would seem to have been in the enjoyment of a very moderate share of influence on the coast at this time. They annoyed the missionaries and behaved tyrannically to the poor Paravas, who were very numerous on the coast and were almost exclusively Roman Catholics: but they durst not attempt to coerce either the Sêthupati or the King of Madura, and they took nothing by an embassy which they sent to the former, together with some valuable presents, for the purpose of inducing him to make over to them all his right and title to the profits of the pearl-fishery on his coasts. They had obtained from the King of Madura the monopoly of the fishery of the Tinnevelly coast, and drew a considerable revenue from licenses to fish which they granted to all applicants at the rate of sixty **Ecus** and occasionally more for each vessel employed, the number of licensed vessels amounting often to as many as six and seven hundred. The conch-shell fishery, the meaning of which has been explained at page 154 ante, was also theirs within the same limits as the pearl-fishery, and yielded a considerable profit. Their ordinary trade was in cloths manufactured at Madura, for which they gave in exchange **Japan leather and Molucca spices.**



The pearl-fishery appears to have been conducted in 1700 in the following mode. In the early part of the year the Dutch sent out ten or twelve vessels in different directions to test the localities in which it appeared desirable that the fishery of the year should be carried on : and from each vessel a few divers were let down, who brought up each a few thousand oysters, which were heaped upon the shore in separate heaps of a thousand each, and opened and examined. If the pearls found in each heap were found by the appraisers to be worth an Ecu or more, the beds from which the oysters were taken were held to be capable of yielding a rich harvest ; if they were worth no more than thirty Sous, the beds were considered unlikely to yield a profit over and above the expense of working them. As soon as the testing was completed, it was publicly announced either that there would or that there would not be a fishery that year. In the former case enormous crowds of people assembled on the coast on the day appointed for the commencement of the fishery ; traders came there with wares of all kinds ; the roadstead was crowded with shipping ; drums were beaten and muskets fired ; and everywhere the greatest excitement prevailed, until the Dutch Commissioners arrived from Colombo with great pomp and ordered the proceedings to be opened with a salute of cannon. Immediately afterwards the fishing vessels all weighed anchor and stood out to sea, preceded by two large Dutch sloops which in due time drew off to the right and left and marked the limits of the fishery ; and when each reached its place, half of its complement of divers plunged into the sea, each with a heavy stone tied to his feet to make him sink rapidly and furnished with a sack in which to put his oysters, and having a rope tied round his body the end of which was passed round a pulley and held by some of the boatmen. Thus equipped the diver plunged in, and on reaching the bottom filled his sack with oysters until his breath failed ; when he pulled a string with which he was provided, and the signal being perceived by the boatmen above, he was forthwith hauled up by the rope together with his sack of oysters. No artificial appliances of any kind were used to enable the men to stay under water for long periods : they were accustomed to the work from infancy almost, and consequently did it easily and well. Some were much more skilful and lasting than others, and it was usual to pay them in proportion to their powers ; a practice which led to much emulation and occasionally to fatal results. Anxious to out-do all his fellows, a diver would sometimes persist in collecting until he was too



weak to pull the string ; and would be drawn up at last half or quite drowned. And very often a greedy man would attack and rob a successful neighbour under water : and instances were known in which divers who had been thus treated took down knives and murdered their plunderers at the bottom of the sea. As soon as all the first set of divers had come up, and their takings had been examined and thrown into the hold, the second set went down. After an interval the first set dived again, and after them the second ; and so on turn by turn. The work was very exhausting, and the strongest man could not dive oftener than seven or eight times in a day ; so that the day's diving was finished always before noon.

The diving over, the vessels returned to the coast and discharged their cargoes : and the oysters were all thrown into a kind of park and left for two or three days, at the end of which time they opened and disclosed their treasures. The pearls having been extracted from the shells and carefully washed, were placed in a metal receptacle containing some five or six colanders of graduated sizes, which were fitted one into another so as to leave a space between the bottoms of every two, and were pierced with holes of varying sizes ; that which had the largest holes being the topmost colander, and that which had the smallest being the undermost. When dropped into colander No. 1, all but the very finest pearls fell through into No. 2, and most of them passed into Nos. 3, 4 and 5 ; whilst the smallest of all, the seeds, were strained off into the receptacle at the bottom. When all had staid in their proper colanders, they were classified and valued accordingly. The largest or those of the first class were the most valuable : and it is expressly stated in the letter from which this information is extracted that the value of any given pearl was appraised almost exclusively with reference to its size, and was held to be affected but little by its shape and lustre. The valuation over, the Dutch generally bought the finest pearls. They considered that they had a right of pre-emption : at the same time they did not compel individuals to sell if unwilling. All the pearls taken on the first day belonged by express reservation to the King or to the Sêthupati, according as the place of their taking lay off the coasts of the one or the other. The Dutch did not, as was often asserted, claim the pearls taken on the second day. They had other and more certain modes of making profit, of which the very best was to bring plenty of cash into a market where cash was not plentiful and so enable themselves to purchase at very easy prices.



The amounts of oysters found in different years varied infinitely. Some years the divers had only to pick up as fast as they were able, and as long as they could keep under water; in others they could only find a few here and there. In 1700 the testing was most encouraging, and an unusually large number of boat-owners took out licenses to fish: but the season proved most disastrous. Only a few thousands were taken on the first day by all the divers together, and a day or two afterwards not a single oyster could be found. It was supposed by many that strong under-currents had suddenly set in owing to some unknown cause and covered the oysters with layers of sand. Whatever the cause, the results of the failure were most ruinous. Several merchants had advanced large sums of money to the boat-owners on speculation, which were of course lost. The boat-owners had in like manner advanced money to the divers and others, and they also lost their money. And the Dutch did not make anything like their usual profit.

During the whole of the year 1700 the kingdom appears to have been in a very disturbed state owing to a desultory war with Tanjore. The circumstances which gave rise to this war are not recorded in any of the memoirs which I have come across; but it seems likely that it originated in the dispute between the governments of Tanjore and Râmnâd which has been alluded to above. It was concluded in the following year, after a remarkable victory which will be hereafter described: but not until considerable damage had been inflicted by the numerous bodies of cavalry which Tanjore sent into the field.

In this same year the missionary Bouchet obtained an interview with the great Dalavây Narasappayya, the recorded particulars of which are interesting as throwing light upon the customs and etiquette of the Madura court. It appears that Bouchet, like all the principal Jesuit missionaries of his day, always adopted the guise of a Guru, and passed for an Asiatic so well that his nationality was ordinarily unsuspected and unquestioned. Accordingly he felt no hesitation in appearing before Narasappayya, who was notorious for his uncompromising hatred of Parangis and of the religion which they professed: and as Christianity was being persecuted with unusual severity at the time he resolved to lay his grievances before the great man and if possible obtain from him a promise of protection. Having obtained an audience, he entered the reception-hall and advanced towards the place



where the Dalavây was seated ; and as he approached, the Dalavây, to his surprise and intense delight, rose from his seat and saluted him with the *namaskâram*, in the manner in which disciples salute their teachers, that is to say by joining the hands and holding them up over the head. In return Bouchet gave the *âstivâtham*, or Guru's salutation to disciples, which consists in stretching out both hands horizontally towards the person saluted, as if about to receive and welcome him. After this the Dalavây made Bouchet sit down beside him in eastern fashion on a kind of sofa barely large enough to contain them, in such wise that their knees touched. This was a special mark of distinction, as implying the closest familiarity : and considering that Narasappayya was a Brâhman of Brâhmans and a special hater of Europeans, and that there were some hundreds of Brâhmans looking on whilst the missionary was thus honoured, his mingled feelings of surprise and pleasure may easily be comprehended. The presents which Bouchet had brought with him were now brought forward. These were a terrestrial globe two feet in diameter, with the names of places inscribed in Tamil ; a small glass globe backed with quicksilver ; a figure of a cock composed of shells ; some magnifying and burning glasses ; a few bracelets of jade and silver ; and lastly a few mirrors and some curiosities from China. They were graciously accepted and examined ; and then a conversation was commenced, in the course of which Bouchet informed the Dalavây that he had come from the north from the great city of Rome to preach the sacred law, and that having been a witness during several years of the illustrious career of the great man whom he had the pleasure of addressing, he had been seized with a strong desire of seeing and paying his respects to him. He also added that he much desired the Dalavây's favour, and that as obedience to constituted authorities was one of the first principles of the law which he preached, the Dalavây might place implicit reliance in his and his disciples' loyalty. The Dalavây replied in terms equally complimentary : and then withdrew for a short time for the purpose of showing the presents to the Queen. During this interval the missionary was shown over the royal gardens by some of the courtiers, and as he was seen to quit the reception hall the report was bruited about that the Roman Guru had been sent to prison. But his enemies were greatly disappointed a short time afterwards, when they came to hear of the very flattering manner in which the Dalavây gave him leave to depart. After showing the curiosities to the Queen, who was greatly pleased



with the glass globe the cock and the bracelets, Narasappayya returned to the reception-hall, and having sent for Bouchet dismissed him with the same marks of honour with which it was customary to dismiss ambassadors, namely by placing on his head as a veil a piece of cloth of gold about eight feet in length and sprinkling scent over his person. And it was at the same time intimated to him that the Queen had expressly ordered that any request he might think proper to make should be granted. Bouchet might now have ruined his enemies by speaking a word : but he refrained from motives of clemency, and merely asked in general terms for protection, and took his leave. On retiring he found to his great embarrassment that the State palanquin had been ready to convey him to his residence. He hesitated at first to enter it, thinking it inconsistent with the humility of a Christian priest to be carried in so magnificent a conveyance : but after a moment's reflection he resolved to accept the proffered honour, feeling sure that the fact of his being seen in the royal palanquin would produce an immense effect on the minds of the persecutors of his flock. Accordingly he took his seat and was carried off through all the principal streets of Trichinopoly with bands of music preceding him, and a large concourse of Christians running alongside and behind of the palanquin, who testified their delight by loud shouts of joy and announcements of the coming of their great Guru. In this manner he was carried the whole way to his house which was about twelve miles from the fort : and on reaching it he repaired at once to the Church of his village, and publicly offered up thanks to God for the triumph which had been vouchsafed to him.

The Dalavây who treated Bouchet so handsomely was implicitly trusted by Mangammâl, and had made himself or rather had been made by his mistress the absolute master of the whole kingdom. His word was law ; and no business of importance was undertaken without his express sanction. But fortunately for the people he was one of those few men who are not spoilt by the possession of unlimited and irresponsible power ; and so great were his talents and good sense, so just and impartial his orders, that he was declared on all sides to be without exception the very greatest minister who had ever directed the affairs of the kingdom. My authority for this statement is Father Martin, who was doubtless prejudiced to some extent in Narasappayya's favour. But it must



not be forgotten that Choka Nât'ha, who was an especial protector of the Christians, is described by the Jesuits as an infamous tyrant, and that they have not attempted to gloss over the vices of Tirumala, another of their great patrons: whilst as a rule their estimates of character appear to be singularly careful and conscientious.

Owing to the disturbances consequent on the Tanjore war it was impossible to travel along any of the King's high roads; and curiously enough we find the missionaries selecting for safety's sake paths through the extensive jungles of the Kallans or robbers, which stretched away north of Madura and in the vicinity of Tanjore. The majority of these Kallans had been converted in great numbers in Tirumala's time—see ante page 126—and had completely given up their predatory habits; and many of them who had not been converted had been induced to withdraw from their evil courses by the example of their Christian friends and connections. But their old reputation still clung to them: and travellers durst not enter their neighbourhood unless they had previously engaged the services of a Kalla guide. The persons of the missionaries however were invariably respected by these lawless people, and if any property was at any time taken from one of them by mistake, it was always restored as soon as the mistake was discovered.

We have now arrived at the conclusion of the war with Tanjore, which was brought about in the year 1700 in the following circumstances. The Dalavây had encamped his army along the south bank of the Kâvêri, with the object of watching the enemy and checking if possible the constant irruptions of detachments of his cavalry into the more fertile parts of the kingdom. But in spite of every precaution he found it to be impossible to do as he desired. The enemy's cavalry was so vastly superior to his own that it marched on either side of him and round him at pleasure: and the damage caused by it in every part of the country was serious and alarming. At last Narasappayya determined on the first opportunity to make a sudden attack upon Tanjore, and by this means to compel the enemy to draw in his troops for the purposes of defence. Having kept his design perfectly secret, he was enabled in the course of a few days to throw his troops across the river unobserved, and was commencing to march for Tanjore before his movement became known to his opponents. Upon discovering his intention the Tanjore General collected his troops with all possible speed, and hurried



across the river to the defence of his capital: but before he had accomplished the passage, freshes caused by a heavy fall of rain on the western ghauts suddenly came down the river, and carried off a portion of his baggage and some of his horses and men. Seeing this, the greater portion of the army hastily spread themselves along the bank, in endeavouring to assist those who were struggling in the stream; and were soon in great disorder and confusion. Narasappayya received intelligence of what was going on from his spies, and without losing a moment by delay charged down in full force upon the straggling bodies of which the Tanjore army was now composed; and before they could form into divisions, cut them to pieces, and gained a most decisive victory, almost without the loss of a man.

After this Narasappayya proceeded to ravage every part of the Tanjore country in a very complete and thorough manner; and the Mahratta Râja was not a little annoyed at seeing himself vanquished by a people who until quite lately had been in the habit of deferring to his wishes and even obeying his orders. He suspected that it must be through the treachery of his minister Baloji or Vagoji Pandithan, that this reverse had befallen him; and his suspicions were actively fomented by the lies and calumnies of the minister's numerous enemies. He therefore resolved to punish him. But Vagoji Pandithan (whom I take to be the Varaboji Pandithan of page 213 ante) was a man of great astuteness, and having heard of the Râja's intention came before him without delay and declared that he "would cut off his own head and bring it to the Râja on a plate if he did not within eight days contrive to conclude a peace with the Râja's enemies." The term was short: and the Râja expressed his satisfaction. Upon this the minister sent round agents to all the principal merchants, and ordered them under pain of confiscation of all their goods to lend him each a considerable sum of money, which was at once lent. He at the same time borrowed largely from all his friends and relations: and to the sums thus obtained added a large amount taken from the royal treasury. The total sum collected amounted to 500,000 Ecus, and was employed in the following manner. A portion was sent to the Queen Regent as a subsidy; another was distributed amongst her ministers; and the remainder was given to the father of the Dalavây, a man notorious for his surpassing avarice. The plan succeeded admirably. Within eight days peace was concluded; and the artful Brahman was restored to favour.



In the summer of 1701 the Queen Regent of Madura and the King of Tanjore entered into an offensive alliance against the Râja of Mysore, and forgetting their old quarrels made joint preparations for war on a grand scale. The cause of this unexpected and almost unprecedented alliance was an act which threatened to involve both kingdoms, and more particularly Tanjore in absolute ruin. The Râja of Mysore had thrown an enormous dam across the bed of the Kâvêri, and had by this means diverted into his kingdom the whole of the freshes produced by the commencement of the south-west monsoon: not a drop of water had been permitted to reach Trichinopoly and Tanjore, and the cultivation of rice-crops was suspended. At the moment however when an expedition was about to start for the purpose of destroying the great dam, the Kâvêri came down with unusual violence and completely swept it away in a moment. Being very large and solidly constructed the work was strong enough to withstand the pressure of moderate freshes: but not that of the enormous volume of water which rolled down with extreme velocity when the monsoon was at its full.

In 1702 the country suffered an irreparable loss in the death of Narasappayya. It appears that he invaded the Marava country at the head of a large army with the intention of reducing the Kilavan Sêthupati to submission, and was defeated and killed in a battle fought with that able ruler and General. The King of Tanjore was acting in concert with the Dalavây on this occasion; but the Kilavan was nevertheless well able to hold his own, and succeeded in completely establishing his independence. It seems strange at first sight that so small and unimportant a State as Râmnâd should have been able to resist, even for a few days, the attack of the combined armies of so large a kingdom as Madura and so rich a country as Tanjore: but it is by no means difficult to account for the fact that it was able not only to resist but to defeat them. The reason was probably this. The army of the King of Madura consisted of bodies of men belonging to different castes, who were for the most part strangers in the land in which they lived and animated by no feelings of patriotism or of loyalty to the King or of fidelity to their General. And they were commanded and officered by men of different castes, who were bound together by no common ties and regarded one another not only with jealousy but also with suspicion and distrust. In a word, as has been shown in Chapter VII, the army was altogether wanting in discipline and cohesion: and a



slight reverse or a quarrel amongst its leaders would turn it within a very few days into a disorganized rabble, and perhaps cause it to melt away bit by bit in the very presence of the enemy. And what was true of the Madura army was probably true of that of Tanjore. But the Râmnâd army was differently constituted, and was animated by an entirely different spirit. Both soldiers and officers were nearly all of one caste, namely the Marava; and the few of them who were not Maravans, belonged to the allied caste of the Ahambadiyans. There were therefore no dissensions and jealousies amongst them originating in matters of caste. And as they were the descendants of countless generations of men who had from time immemorial lived in and bled for one and the same small tract of country, they were no doubt incited to resist invasion by a spirit of true patriotism such as in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries stirred the hearts of few if any of the nations located in South India. Then again though not strictly speaking a warrior caste, the Maravans were a caste which had always been accustomed to a martial and adventurous mode of life; and their traditions were connected with the commission of murders robbery and deeds of violence of every kind rather than with the peaceful and unexciting incidents of agriculture and commerce: and they therefore formed far better materials for an army than any of the Tamil castes of Madura, and probably than any of the foreign. And lastly it generally happened that most of the principal Maravans were connected with the Sêthupati and with one another both by blood and by marriage; and accordingly when they were called upon by their natural head and protector to fight against an invader, they marched to battle like a numerous band of brothers led by a common father, and were able to forget for the moment all petty animosities and feuds.

The following passage from a Jesuit letter shows how the Râmnâd army was manned and officered:—

“ Presque toutes les bourgades et les terres du Marava sont pos-  
 “ sédées par les plus riches du pays, moyennant un certain nombre  
 “ de soldats qu’ils sont obligés de fournir au prince toutes les fois  
 “ qu’il en a besoin. Ces seigneurs sont révocables au gré du prince :  
 “ leurs soldats sont leurs parents, leurs amis ou leurs esclaves, qui  
 “ cultivent les terres dépendantes de la peuplade, et qui prennent les  
 “ armes dès qu’ils sont requis. De cette manière, le prince du Mara-  
 “ va peut mettre sur pied, en moins de huit jours, jusqu’ à trente et  
 “ quarante mille hommes, et par-là il se fait redouter des princes ses



“voisins ; il a même secoué le joug du roi de Maduré dont il était tributaire.”

Mangammâl's grandson came of age in the year 1704 or 5 ; and this event appears to have led to some serious disturbances which had a very tragical ending. The particulars connected therewith cannot unfortunately be ascertained with anything approaching precision, as we have no Jesuit letters written between the years 1701 and 1709, and Hindû MSS. throw scarcely any light upon the occurrences of this period. But a comparison of oral traditions with a few clearly apparent facts affords some ground for the conclusion that the following were the circumstances which ushered in the new reign. The Queen Regent seems to have lived for some two or three years to the great scandal of her subjects on terms of too great intimacy with Narasappayya's successor, a Brâhman of the name of Achchaya ; and relying on his support to have refused to make way for her grandson when he came of age. In consequence of this a strong party was formed against her, and she was arrested and confined in the building which is now used as a jail. And not satisfied with this measure of punishment her enemies resolved to murder her ; and did the deed with a refinement of cruelty almost too horrible to conceive. They slowly starved her to death : and to aggravate her sufferings periodically placed food near the bars of her prison window, at such a distance that she could see and smell, without being able to reach it with her hands. It is said that the place where the unhappy woman was thus tortured is still pointed out to strangers, and that the story of her fate still excites compassion : but whether the horrible legend is true it is I believe impossible now to discover. However there is nothing *primâ facie* improbable in it as it stands, and there exists some evidence tending to corroborate it." A statue of a young man may be seen in the little chapel built by Mangammâl on the west side of the golden lily tank which is commonly known as the statue of Mangammâl's minister and paramour : and in a picture on the ceiling of the chapel there is a portrait of the same person opposite to one of the Queen. And it is observable that the portrait of Mangammâl shows that she did not dress as an orthodox Hindu widow should dress, but indulged in jewels and finery fit only for a married woman. These circumstances are certainly in favor of the story of the intrigue with Achchaya being true ; and if so, then the story of the imprisonment and murder is rendered more worthy of credence.



A curious ghost story told in one of the O. H. MSS. at page 224 connects the death of Mangammâl with that of her co-temporary the Râja of Mysore; and contrasts the characters of the two rulers in very strong colors. It is to the effect that the Râja of Mysore, who according to Wilks, vol. i, page 211, was named Chick Deo Raz and died on the 12th December 1704, was a man of a mean and sordid mind and never by any chance performed acts of charity: accordingly when he died he went to Naragam the place of torment, and lay where he fell in great agony. Shortly afterwards he recognized one of his subjects, who had been carried off by mistake by one of Yama's messengers and was about to be released and sent back to the world of the living; and calling him to his side the Râja told him he must be so good as to take a message to the Râja's son and successor. The spirit agreed to do what was asked, and the Râja thereupon said, "When I ruled over Mysore, I laid up great treasures for myself" and never performed any works of charity: and hence my miserable fate. But Mangammâl of Madura has always been a charitable woman, and now that she is coming to the world of the dead they are setting up triumphal arches and making all kinds of grand preparations for her reception. Go then to my son and tell him that he must at once spend in works of charity all the treasure which is buried in a place which I will presently describe to you, that by so doing he may peradventure rescue my soul from this place of torment." The Râja then described the place, and the liberated spirit forthwith delivered the message. The Râja's son did not give it credence at first: but shortly afterwards he received intelligence from Madura, to the effect that Mangammâl had died at such an hour on such a day, and finding that the time agreed with the time indicated by the message he felt certain that the message was genuine and began to act in entire accordance with the directions which it contained.

This story is certainly remarkable as illustrating most forcibly on the one hand the selfish and avaricious character of a Râja, who according to Wilks was in the habit of never breaking his fast in the morning until he had placed two thousand Pagodas in his treasury, and succeeded in collecting so much treasure that he was called the "Lord of nine crores;" and on the other hand the generous and amiable character of a Princess, who in happier circumstances and in a more enlightened age might have been an ornament both to her country and to her sex.

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## CHAPTER X.

FROM A.D. 1705 TO A.D. 1741.

*A long and uninteresting reign.—Vijaya Ranga Choka Nâtha's absurd liberality.—The weakness of his government.—Marava affairs.—Works of irrigation.—Famine.—The price of grain.—The drought of 1709.—The great inundation.—The death of the Kilavan.—Satî.—Disturbances.—End of the long famine.—Wars in the Marava country.—Thandâ Têvan and Bavâni Sankara.—The Râmnâd kingdom divided.—The Râyar of Chandragiri.—The King dies.—The political situation.—His widow Mînâkshi adopts a son.—The party against her.—The second pattam.—Vangâru Tirumala's claims.—Another Mahometan attack.—Tanjore is taken.—Vangâru Tirumala seeks the assistance of Safdar Ali Khân.—The award.—The Queen calls in Chandâ Sahêb.—His oath.—He is disconcerted.—He leaves Trichinopoly and returns.—Operations against Madura.—The battle of Ammaya-Nâyakkan-ûr.—Vangâru Tirumala flees.—Chandâ Sahêb throws off the mask.—The Queen takes poison.—The Mahrattas are called in.—The defeat and death of Daust Ali.—The fall of Trichinopoly and capture of Chandâ Sahêb.—The kingdom finally falls to pieces.*

WE have now come to the end of that series of Jesuit letters which so usefully illustrates the modern political history of Madura, and from this time forward we shall have to rely almost entirely upon native MSS. and the secondary evidence afforded by English historians. And curiously enough the nearer we approach the period of the commencement of British ascendancy in the south, the more meagre and unsatisfactory will our information become.

Vijaya Ranga Choka Nât'ha's long reign which commenced about



1705 and lasted about twenty-six years, seems to have been principally distinguished by the extraordinary and ill-regulated munificence of his gifts to Brâhmans Churches and religious institutions. Every other year it is said he used to perform a pilgrimage to each of the more celebrated shrines within the limits of his dominions : and on these occasions gifts were lavishly showered on all\* who were so fortunate as to gain access to him. His Generals and ministers were encouraged to prey on him and pillage the country without stint. And in a word, in all that he did and in all that he said he showed himself to be a vain, weak-minded Prince, utterly unfitted to govern either himself or others.

In 1709, only a few years after he ascended the throne, the weakness of his administration began to bear fruit, and there was a serious riot in the town of Madura produced by injustice on the part of the government, which must have very considerably detracted from his authority. And shortly afterwards the whole of the royal troops mutinied in consequence of their pay being misappropriated by the Dalavây, Naravappayya. Instead of addressing them personally and paying forthwith all that was due, the King contented himself with sending them from time to time unsatisfactory messages, to the effect that the Dalavây should be made to settle with them within a few days. And at last things began to look so threatening that the Sêthupathi was applied to for assistance. The Sêthupati pointed out to the King the terrible folly of his proceedings, and at last the King did what he ought to have done at the very first ; and the mutiny was with some little difficulty suppressed. Whether the Dalavây was dismissed for this misconduct does not appear : but we know that some years afterwards one Venkata Râg'havâchârya was Dalavây, so possibly the King had sense enough to rid himself of the scoundrel. And moreover as the Dalavây in whose time the Madura riot took place was a Nâyakkan named Kastûri Rangayan, it seems probable that he too was punished for his misdeeds by dismissal. However this may have been, there were undoubtedly constant changes in the ministry and disturbances during this long reign ; and the entire period over which it extended must have been one of incessant commotions and anarchy : so much so that when the King died in 1731, the strength of the country had been so completely frittered away that the catastrophe which will hereafter be described was all but inevitable.



Whilst the Madura kingdom was suffering from misrule, the Marava was kept in good order by the strong hand of the Kilavan. It will be remembered that in 1702 he succeeded in completely shaking off the yoke of Madura: in 1709 he again distinguished himself by gaining a signal victory over the King of Tanjore. It appears that for some few years the Marava country had been suffering from extraordinary drought and heat which brought about famine and epidemics, and it was in consequence reduced to a state of great desolation and weakness. The King of Tanjore thought to take advantage of the opportunity by invading his old enemy's dominions; but he was repulsed with loss and compelled to sue for peace.

That the famine which raged at this time was not brought about by carelessness and improvidence on the part of the Sêthupati's government or by the want of works of irrigation, but was attributable solely to a deficient rain-fall, is clearly shown by the following interesting passage from a letter of Father Martin, dated Marava, 1713.

“On ne prend nulle part autant de précautions que dans le Marava, pour ne pas laisser échapper une goutte d'eau, et pour ramasser toute celle des ruisseaux et des torrents que forment les pluies. On y voit une assez grande rivière appelée *Vaïarou*. Après avoir traversé une partie du Maduré, elle entre dans le Marava, et quand elle remplit bien son lit, ce qui arrive d'ordinaire pendant un mois entier chaque année, elle est aussi grosse que la Seine. Cependant par le moyen des canaux creusés par nos Indiens, et qui vont aboutir fort loin à leurs étangs, ils saignent tellement cette rivière de tous les côtés, qu'elle s'y perd entièrement, et n'arrive à son embouchure, qu'après avoir mis plusieurs semaines à remplir les nombreux réservoirs vers lesquels on l'a détournée.

“Les étangs les plus communs ont une demi-lieue de levée: il y en a d'autres qui ont une lieue et plus. J'en ai vu trois qui ont plus de trois lieues. Un seul de ces étangs fournit assez d'eau pour arroser les campagnes de plus de soixante peuplades. Comme le riz veut toujours avoir le pied dans l'eau jusqu'à ce qu'il ait acquis sa parfaite maturité, lorsqu'après la première récolte il reste encore de l'eau dans les étangs, on fume les terres, et on les ensemeence de nouveau: car tout le temps de l'année est propre à faire croître le riz, pourvu que l'eau ne lui manque pas.”

The last words of this quotation have been put in Italics by me, as



being strongly corroborative of the remarks made in the chapter on climate, touching the supreme importance to the Madura District of a constant supply of rain. So much attention is being paid at the present time to the subject of famine in India, that it cannot but be useful to remember that in one country, if not in more, the horrors of famine have been experienced from time immemorial in spite of all the precautions which a rich and absolutely despotic government could take to ensure a sufficiency of effective works of irrigation. In Madura it is the want of rain and not the want of works of irrigation that produces periodical famines.

The severity of the famines of the early part of the eighteenth century may be gauged in the following manner. Ordinarily the price of rice was, as has been shown in page 155 ante, a fanam or  $2\frac{1}{4}d.$  for eight Râmnâd *markâls* or about ninety-six pounds of excellent husked rice : but Father Martin had known the price to rise to four fanams or nine pence for one markâl or twelve pounds. In other words he had known a rise in price of no less than thirty-two hundred per cent. to take place within a twelvemonth ! Lest it should be thought that I must have mistaken Father Martin's meaning, I will quote his exact words, which occur in his letter of 1713 quoted from above. They are as follows :—

“ C'est à la faveur de ces eaux que les laboureurs font couler des  
 “ étangs dans les campagnes, qu'on voit croître une quantité prodigieuse  
 “ de riz ; lorsque les pluies sont abondantes, le riz et les autres  
 “ denrées y sont à vil prix : pour un fanon, on aura jusqu'à huit  
 “ *markals* ou grandes mesures de très bon riz pilé, ce qui suffit pour  
 “ la nourriture d'un homme durant plus de quinze jours. Mais aussi  
 “ quand les pluies viennent à manquer, la cherté devient si grande,  
 “ que j'ai vu monter le prix d'une de ces mesures de riz, jusqu'à quatre  
 “ fanons (dix-huit sous).”

When these terrific rises took place, it was customary for the starving ryots to borrow a few pounds of rice from more fortunate neighbours, undertaking to repay for each pound lent eight ten fifteen or more pounds out of the earliest crop they might be able to raise. The condition was doubtless very hard. But it was perfectly fair, inasmuch as the borrowers were at liberty to go and buy in the markets at the ruling rates, and had they so done would have been compelled to pay still higher prices for what they required ; and it is somewhat startling to find that Father Martin and his worthy



colleagues peremptorily forbade the members of their flocks to traffic on these as they were pleased to call them un-Christian principles. By thus acting they must have contributed largely to the distress which everywhere prevailed.

The intense drought which lasted during the greater part of 1709 was succeeded by a sufficiency of rain in the month of August, and an abundant supply in October and November: and every one was hoping that the long series of bad seasons which had brought so much misery upon the country was about to be terminated, when there occurred on the 18th December one of those tremendous cyclones which sometimes though happily but very rarely visit the Madura country in the winter season. The tempest commenced at 7 A. M. with a strong gale from the north-east, accompanied by a very violent fall of rain. This lasted till nearly noon, when the wind and rain suddenly ceased: and a profound calm ensued, which continued till about 5 P. M. The wind then got up again with great suddenness, and began to blow from the south-west with even greater force than in the morning. The hurricane lasted during the greater part of the night, and within a few hours caused an inundation which led to the most terrible results. As the tanks were at this time all full, and as almost all their bunds had their concave sides facing the west, large waves were raised and rolled in upon the central and weakest portions of the bunds with a fury which they were wholly unable to resist. Small splits and crevices were rapidly formed in them. These were rapidly enlarged by successive blows; and at last, one after another, all the tanks in the country began to burst. Each discharged its contents over the low-lying lands in its neighbourhood, already completely overlaid by a rainfall of many inches, and vast lakes were thus formed, and were every moment increased in volume both by the rain and by the freshes which came roaring down the beds of the rivers. As they swelled and swelled, these lakes vented their superabundant waters upon the sinking lands of the Marava country, and in the dead of the night, when it was pitchy dark, almost before the unfortunate inhabitants of those parts could collect their scattered senses, a mighty wave came surging and foaming upon them bearing along with it the wreck of houses and churches, trees, struggling sheep and cattle, the corpses of men women and children, half-ripened crops of all sorts, in a word all that was most valuable and useful in the country over which it had careered. The bold and vigorous contrived by some means to escape



destruction, but thousands perished miserably in vain attempts to flee; and the sun rose next morning upon a sight such as must have moved the hardest to compassion. In every direction as far as the eye could reach the whole country was submerged with the exception of a few high tracts which rose like islands out of the surrounding waste of waters. Property of all kinds was being tossed hither and thither by eddies and currents; and innumerable carcasses of animals were being carried along mingled with thousands of corpses. The rice-crops had been torn bodily out of the soil, and the largest and toughest trees, even tamarind trees, were lying with their dripping roots in the air. But it was not until the waters had subsided that the full extent of the damage done could be ascertained. It was then perceived that not only had the rice-crops utterly perished in almost every part of the Râmnâd kingdom, but many of the fields in which they grew had been covered with sand and salt earth deposited by the inundation, and had consequently been rendered useless until cleaned and a second time prepared for cultivation at a great expense; and most of the wells and tanks had been fouled and poisoned.

In consequence of this visitation the famine raged in the Marava country more furiously than ever in 1710; and numbers emigrated to Tanjore and Madura. And the misery of the people was aggravated in no slight degree by the death of the Kilavan, and the disturbances by which it was as a matter of course attended. The veteran died aged upwards of eighty, and after a reign of a quarter of a century. During the latter portion of this period his animosity against Christianity had either given way to a better feeling or had remained inactive; and at no time since the foundation of the Madura Mission had the missionaries so much to be thankful for as they had in this period. There seems to have been no active persecution, and the work of converting the heathen went on more busily than ever.

The death of the Kilavan was followed by one of those painful spectacles in which the misguided spirit of Hindûism so much delights. No fewer than forty-seven of his wives burnt themselves, I should perhaps more correctly say were burnt upon his funeral pile. A large and deep ditch was dug at some little distance from the town of Râmnâd, and nearly filled up with a vast quantity of wood; and at the proper moment the body of the dead Prince richly clothed and adorned was laid upon the top of the pile, which was



then set fire to at the bottom in many places, whilst divers ceremonies were performed by the attendant Brâhmans. When the lower part of the pile had begun to burn briskly the troop of victims drew near to what was to be their sacrificial altar, all covered from head to foot with jewels and crowned with garlands of flowers, and began to move round the pit in procession. Shortly afterwards the chief widow held up aloft the sword which her departed lord had been accustomed to carry, and addressing his successor spoke the following words: "See here," said she, "the weapon with which our King was wont to triumph over his enemies: be you careful never to use it for any other purpose, and above all never to stain it with the blood of your subjects. Govern them as he governed them, like a father; and like him you will live happily for many years. As for me, since he is no more there is nothing left that should keep me in this world, and I have but to follow him whither he is gone." With these words she placed the sword in the hands of the new King, who received it without betraying any signs of emotion, and then with a wild cry threw herself boldly on the pile, calling loudly upon the names of her Gods.

The second widow was a Kalla woman, the sister of the Tondiman Râja of Puthu Kôttei, who as has been shown above was appointed by the Kilavan soon after the commencement of his reign. He was present on this occasion, and had to take from his sister the jewels with which she was adorned: and whilst so doing he could not restrain his tears. Throwing himself upon her bosom he embraced her with the tenderest affection: but the unhappy woman appeared to be all unmoved; and after looking for a few moments now at the pile now at the attendants, and crying out now and again O! Siva, Siva, threw herself on the burning mass with the same boldness as the first.

The other widows followed one by one: some going to meet their death with a firm countenance, others with an air of abstraction and bewilderment. One only more timid than her fellows ran and threw herself on the neck of a Christian soldier who was standing by and implored him to save her. But her entreaties were ineffectual. The man was violating the explicit orders of his priests in being present at this ceremony, and being alarmed at public attention being attracted to him shook off the unfortunate woman with so great violence that she lost her balance and fell headlong into the pit. At



the same moment he hastily withdrew, his whole frame shivering with a presentiment of coming evil, and barely reached his home before he was attacked by a raging fever which a few hours afterwards ended his life.

Whatever boldness was exhibited by these wretched women in throwing themselves upon the top of the pile, they no sooner felt the heat of the furnace beneath them than they began to make frantic efforts to escape their doom. Hurrying to and fro, struggling and fighting, tumbling one over another, they vainly endeavoured to reach the edge of the pile; and filled the air the while with ear-piercing screams and groans. And in order to smother their cries, and at the same time accelerate the burning of the mass, it became necessary to throw heaps of heavy faggots upon the heads of the victims. After this their voices grew more and more feeble; and at last were altogether lost in the crackling and roaring of the flames. When all the bodies had been consumed the Brâhmans drew near to the still smoking pile, and after performing more ceremonies collected the charred bones and ashes, and having carefully wrapped them in rich cloths carried them to the island of Ramêshwarâ and there threw them into the sea. After this the pit was filled up; and a temple was erected over its site in honor of the departed King and his wives.

It is stated by Father Martin that at the time when the Kilavan's widows burnt themselves, *Sati* was practised only by the wives and concubines of Princes; and that women of ordinary rank, whether Brâhmans or not, were not required by the custom of the country to follow their husbands to the grave. Women of the Râja caste sometimes indulged a morbid vanity by performing the act of self-cremation; affecting to believe that they were descended from the ancient sovereigns of India, and therefore bound in honor to follow the custom of their ancestors. And still more rarely Brâhman widows thought proper to go through the ceremony. Amongst other castes the practice was almost unknown. Father Martin further gives it as his opinion that women of princely rank could hardly avoid *Sati* without disgrace and total loss of honor; and that those who hesitated to act in accordance with the custom of their caste were overcome by the incessant entreaties and remonstrances of their relations, and if their courage failed them, they were plied with certain liquors which removed from them all apprehension of death. It is observable that these remarks upon *Sati* made in 1713 agree very closely



with those of the Abbé Dubois made a century later and after a long residence in Mysore. On the other hand it is clear that even Princesses were not absolutely bound to consent to Satî, and were not always despised and degraded on account of their refusal to burn themselves; for as we have seen Mangammâl declined the honor, and yet enjoyed a long and prosperous reign—the regency amounted in fact to a reign—and in spite of her amours left behind her a more honored name than did most of her predecessors. And the widow of her grandson followed her example.

Shortly before his death the Kilavan had nominated as his successor one Bavâni Sankara Têvan, an illegitimate son by a favorite concubine. But the nomination was not approved of by the Maravans, and the old Sêthupati was compelled to sanction the choice of the people which fell upon one Vijaya Rag'hu Nât'ha; who was accordingly crowned Sêthupati. It appears from the Jesuit letters that this man was the younger son of the Kilavan, and brother of that Vaduga Nât'ha of whom mention has been made at page 224 ante; and that the latter was set aside in favor of the former as being less able and fit to rule than his brother. It seems probable, however, that neither of these Princes was a natural son of the Kilavan, as he would scarcely have nominated a bastard in preference to his own son, and would hardly have passed over the elder son in favor of the younger, when the ability of that elder son to rule had been admitted by the Kilavan in appointing him governor of Oreiyûr, and afterwards of the important province of Arundângi and the very considerable territories attached thereto. Ponnusâmi Têvan's memorandum makes Vijaya Rag'hu Nât'ha to have been the adopted son of the Kilavan, and no doubt this was so.

Vijaya Rag'hu Nât'ha was ardently attached to Hindûism, and became an unrelenting persecutor of Christianity; though he never went to the same length as the Kilavan. But his brother was always an active patron of the missionaries, and it would appear that after the death of the Kilavan Vaduga Nât'ha became a convert.

The year 1720 brought with it the cessation of a famine which appears to have lasted for a long series of years; and perhaps commenced in the terrible year 1709, the year of the great storm and inundation. An abundant harvest was gathered in, and the people speedily forgot their troubles. But the country was thrown into confusion once more by the illness and death of the Sêthupati. The Râja of Puthu Kôttei incited no doubt by Bavâni Sankara Têvan had entered into an alli-



ance with the King of Tanjore, and declared war against his Lord : and the Sêthupati was compelled to march out to Arundângi to give battle to his enemies. Whilst he was carrying on operations with very indifferent success in the neighbourhood of that fortress, a grievous epidemic broke out in his camp which within a few days carried off eight of his children and some of his wives, and at last attacked and prostrated him. He was carried back to Râmnâd and appears to have temporarily recovered from the effects of his malady : but if so, a relapse ensued and he died not very long afterwards, having first appointed one Thandâ Têvan who was a great grandson of the father of the Kilavan to be his successor. Viĵaya Rag'hu Nât'hâ is said to have married no less than three hundred and sixty wives, and to have had as many as a hundred children born to him by them and by various concubines : and yet he left no heir of his body. All his legitimate children seem to have been carried off by disease ; and the Jesuits sincerely believed that his misfortunes were brought on his head by his cruelty towards Christians.

Thandâ Têvan was not permitted to mount the throne without opposition. Bavâni Sankara Têvan, who it will be remembered had been nominated as his successor by the Kilavan but set aside as being a bastard, now came forward and claimed the succession : and as he had married a niece of the deceased Sêthupati's chief concubine, and was strongly supported by his mother-in-law, he contrived to procure his coronation by the principal Maravans. Upon this Thandâ Têvan applied for assistance to the King of Madura and also to the Tondiman Râja of Puthu Kôttei, promising to cede to the latter, if successful, the districts dependant on the forts of Kîranilei and Tirumayang Kôttei. He obtained the required assistance within a few days, and proceeded to closely besiege his rival in Arundângi : and the latter feeling that he was unable to cope with the forces arrayed against him, gave up the contest for a time and fled to Tanjore. Having succeeded in gaining the favor of the King of that country by promising to cede to him the territories north of the Pâmbâr, Bavâni Sankara was enabled within two or three months after his flight from Arundângi to invade the Râmnâd country. As soon as he became aware of his adversary's movements, Thandâ had called to his assistance the allies, by means of whom he had been raised to the throne : and the King of Madura, or more probably one of his ministers, had sent a small body of men to protect the northern frontier of Râmnâd, whilst the Tondiman Râja put his troops in motion and finally encamped them at a little



distance from his allies. But the Tanjorean General who accompanied Bavâni Sankara soon disposed of these obstacles in his path. He first fell on the Madura troops, who fled at once without offering the slightest resistance; and then attacked the Tondiman, and having succeeded in taking his two sons prisoners compelled him to sue for peace. The invaders then besieged Râmnâd; and having effected an entry into the fort by mining, seized the unhappy Sêthupati and some of his supporters and put them to death.

Bavâni Sankara thus became Sêthupati a second time; and reigned till about the year 1729, when he was in his turn deposed under the following circumstances. It appears that he foolishly quarreled with some of his Poligars, and amongst others with Seshavarna Periya-Udeiyâ Têvan, a famous chieftain who was connected with him by marriage, and was the descendant of a Poligar who conspired with the Tambi against the Dalavây. Seshavarna was driven out of his pâleiyam, and fled to Tanjore; where he ingratiated himself with the King by slaying single-handed a very large and ferocious tiger. And he found there Kattaya Têvan, the maternal uncle of the late Sêthupati who had escaped from Râmnâd at the time of its capture by Bavâni Sankara, and was now a refugee like himself. The two companions in misfortune soon became fast friends, and resolved to join in an attempt to overthrow the usurper of the Râmnâd crown. The King of Tanjore was requested to furnish them with troops and money; and agreed to help them on the usual condition, namely that of a cession of the provinces north of the Pâmbâr. Bavâni Sankara had omitted to make over these territories in accordance with the agreement entered into by him before he became Sêthupati: and the King of Tanjore thought that if the confederates succeeded through his assistance in conquering the Sêthupati, he, the Râja, would be able to obtain his ends far more easily than if a single ruler reigned over the Râmnâd country. The Dalavây of Tanjore was accordingly despatched with an army to depose the Sêthupati and re-instate the exiles: and a battle was fought at Oreiyûr in which the Sêthupati was defeated and made prisoner. He was then carried off to Tanjore, and after being vehemently reproached for his breach of faith thrown into prison.

After this decisive success the confederates parcelled out the lands of the Râmnâd kingdom amongst themselves in the following manner. The King of Tanjore took all the lands north of the Pâmbâr. And



the remainder was divided into five parts, of which three were assigned to Kattaya Têvan, who became Sêthupati with the title of Kumâra Muttu Vijaya Rag'hu Nât'ha: and two parts were made over to Seshavarna Têvan, who assumed the title of Râja Muttu Vijaya Rag'hu Nât'ha Periya Udeiyâ Têvan, though he was more commonly known as the Nâl-Kôttei-Udeiyâ-Têvan from being the possessor of four fortresses. He was subsequently styled the Râja of Sivagangei.

A very interesting copper Sâsanam, of which Mr. Fischer the lessee of the Sivagangei Zamindâri kindly furnished me with a copy, and which purports to have been engraved in the S. S. 1655 or A. D. 1733, states that Muttu Vijaya Rag'hu Nât'ha Periya Udeiyâ Têvan, the son of Periya Udeiyâ Têvan, and son-in-law of the Hiranîya Garb'ha Arasupati Rag'hu Nât'ha Sêthupati, was amongst other things the owner of the fertile lands on the banks of the Veigei, the owner of the Sembiya Vala Nâdu, and the master of the harbour of Tondi; that in consequence of the advice of a certain Gnyâni (in whose favor was made the grant of which the Sâsanam is the memorial) he went to Tanjore and there killed a tiger, and having returned from that country conquered Bavâni Sankara Têvan; and afterwards dug a tank at the spring near which he first saw the Gnyâni and received advice from him, and called the said tank Sivagangei or the water of Siva. The Sâsanam also calls him the *arasu-nilei ittavan* or founder of the monarchy, i. e., of the Sivagangei monarchy; the *Chôla-mandala-chanda-prachanda* or all powerful in the Chôla country; and *Pândi-mandala-St'hâpanâchârya* or establisher of the Pândya kingdom. Altogether the Sâsanam corroborates very strongly the history recorded in Ponnusâmi Têvan's memorandum, and is very valuable as helping to fix the date of the final dismemberment of the Râmnâd kingdom, and the rise of the present Sivagangei Zamindâri.

We must now revert to the affairs of the Madura kingdom. As stated above, the reign of Vijaya Ranga Choka Nât'ha seems to have been distinguished only by an absurd liberality to Brâhmans and Churches; and the history of the Karnataca Governors says nothing more about him than that he gave many gifts to Srîrang'ham and many other sacred places. But an unrecorded event of importance seems to have occurred during his time, namely the subjection of the kingdom to the Râyar of Chandragiri. Two Telugu copper Sâsanams



in the Pagoda at Madura, which purport to be grants of the years 1713 and 1717, and which appear to be perfectly genuine, show that in each of those years there was a Lord Paramount over Madura and that his title was in 1713 *Vîra Venkata Dêva Mahâ Râyalu Ayya*, and in 1717 *Ranga Râya Dêva Mahâ Râyalu Ayya*. The circumstances in which these personages acquired authority over the King of Madura do not appear from the documents, and it is somewhat hazardous to guess about these matters: but it appears to me that a key to the question must be sought for in the fact that *Mangammâl* was a daughter of *Lingama* the *Nâyakkan* of *Chandragiri Dupakal*. One of her grants shows that she sought to prop up her title to govern the country as Regent by an alleged authorization from the successor and heir of the *Râyars*; and it is very probable that she found it necessary on more than one occasion to invoke his interference in her behalf. And the *Râyar* having thus acquired some influence in the country, would not fail if he was a man of energy to extend it very considerably during the reign of an imbecile like *Mangammâl's* grandson. However it came about, this supremacy of the ruler of *Chandragiri* is certainly noteworthy, inasmuch as it is usually supposed that the power of the ancient family of the *Râyars* had entirely died out by the middle of the seventeenth century. It would be a somewhat startling discovery to make hereafter, that at the beginning of the seventeenth century not only the Madura but the *Tanjore* and several other countries were paying tribute to the *Râyar* of *Chandragiri*.

The King seems to have died in the year 1731. He left no issue; and no brothers or other near male relations clearly entitled to succeed him: and the political situation was therefore most pregnant with danger.

Queen *Minâkshi*, the widow of the deceased, appears to have been an ambitious and high-spirited woman; and she had not improbably been accustomed to take an active part in the transaction of public business during those lengthened periods which the King devoted to pilgrimages. She was accordingly by no means inclined to give up on a sudden the power and position which she had for some time enjoyed, and was desirous of emulating her great namesake whose history is told in the *Madura Purâna*. Moreover according to the custom of Madura she would seem to have been entitled to succeed to her husband's property in default of sons, or



of brothers living with him in a state of union at the time of his death : and if she succeeded to his property, she might very well succeed to the throne also. Then again she was in actual possession of the Palace and fort of Trichinopoly, and of all the royal treasures ; and was *pro tanto* in a better position than any possible claimant of the throne. And lastly it was her imperative duty she alleged to adopt a son for the purpose of rescuing the soul of her husband from *Put* or the place of torment, in obedience to his dying wishes ; and pending such adoption and the minority of the person selected for adoption, she of all persons would be the fittest to administer the government of the kingdom, first as Regent during the interregnum, and afterwards as guardian and Regent for the minor King. In these circumstances, and being strenuously backed by the counsels and assistance of her brothers and a strong party of relatives, Mînâkshi assumed the reins of government, and declaring that her husband had authorized her to adopt, adopted the infant son of Vangâru Tirumala a member of the royal family.

How long Mînâkshi was permitted to govern the kingdom in peace, to what extent if any the governors of provinces admitted her authority, and whether any of the Poligars paid or promised to pay tribute to her, are questions to which I have been altogether unable to find satisfactory answers. It seems probable however that the validity of her claim was for a time generally recognized ; and that she was looked upon as the Queen of the Pândya kingdom until compelled by the force of circumstances to drop that title and assume one less exalted.

When she had been in power for some little time, administering the government through her brother Venkata Râyar Perumâl Nâyakkan, a party was formed against her by the Dalavây Venkata Râyar Âchârya, of which the avowed object was to depose the Queen and set up in her place Vangâru Tirumala, the father of the boy whom she had adopted and crowned King. As the descendants of this man still live in a village in the Marava country, and affect to believe themselves to be the direct heirs of the old Pândya throne through him, it will be well to trace his lineage if possible, and to ascertain what was the nature of the claim put forward in his behalf by his supporters. According to the history of the Karnataka Governors, a book undoubtedly composed by the dependants and adherents of the Madura Nâyakkan family, he was the Vangâru



Tirumala stated to have been the *Irândâvathu Pattam* or second in power, or as I have translated it before for convenience' sake the heir apparent, in the time of King Ranga Krishna Muttu Vîrappa who began to reign in 1682; and he must therefore have been the son of Prince Kumâra Tirumala, who was heir apparent to King Choka Nât'ha and the son of Kumâra Rangappa, who was the son of that younger brother of Tirumala who, as has been shown in page 178 ante, was set aside on the death of Tirumala in favor of Tirumala's illegitimate son. Such was his parentage, if the history of the Karnataka Governors can be believed; we must now endeavour to make out his claim. He must either have claimed the crown in virtue of his descent from Tirumala's younger brother and connection thereby with the deceased King, or in virtue of his position as *Irândâvathu Pattam* in the year 1682. If he claimed on the ground of descent, the answer was obvious. He belonged to a junior branch of the royal family, no member of which had succeeded to the throne; and of which the head had formally resigned his rights in consideration of certain districts being assigned to him, and after receiving this consideration had never put forth any claims. In the next place there was no blood relationship between Vangâru Tirumala and the deceased King; for the latter was the descendant of a bastard son of Tirumala. And lastly the widow had formally and validly adopted a son, who succeeded to the throne as a matter of course. It was impossible therefore that Vangâru Tirumala could claim to inherit the throne. And the author or authors of the history of the Karnataka Governors would appear to be quite aware of this impossibility, as no attempt has been made to show the nature of the claim set up; whilst great care has been taken to trace the successive *Irândâvathu Pattams* from very early times down to that of Vangâru Tirumala. I think it may be assumed therefore without much hesitation that Vangâru Tirumala's party based his claim on the circumstance, real or fictitious, that he had some fifty years previously been formally recognized as the *Irândâvathu Pattam* at the time when Ranga Krishna Muttu Vîrappa was crowned King. If so, the question arises, what right or title would this recognition confer upon him? The natives of Madura appear to think that what was intended by appointing and installing a second pattam or sovereign was to provide for the immediate succession to the throne and administration of the government in the event of the first pattam or reigning King either dying without male issue, or leaving a son or sons too young to reign.



That in the former case the second pattam would take the crown as an inheritance such that the succession would vest absolutely in him and his heirs male for ever: whilst in the latter case he would take only an estate for life or for a term of years, the son or sons of the deceased King being remaindermen; but an estate which would be convertible into a perfect and indefeasible inheritance by his survivorship. But if this was the usage having the force of law which controlled the rights of the second pattam—and seeing that the crown ordinarily descended to the eldest son and his heirs the usage certainly could not have been more favourable to the second pattam—how came it to pass that when Ranga Krishna Muttu Vîrappa died leaving his widow pregnant, Vangâru Tirumala did not succeed him, and so far as we know did not in any way oppose Mangammâl's assumption of power? It would certainly seem probable that the second pattam had no right to succeed except in default of male issue being left by the King or supplied to him by adoption; and that the usage was not as stated above. And if so, then Vangâru Tirumala's limited right to succeed was altogether defeated by the birth of the posthumous son. Then again it is nowhere suggested that the rights of a second pattam, however large or restricted they may have been, were continued to Vangâru Tirumala by the royal family appointing him second pattam to Vijaya Ranga Choka Nat'ha: and unless they were so continued, they must have lapsed the very moment that the want in anticipation of which his appointment was originally made, was supplied by Mangammâl assuming the Regency. Supposing however that he was appointed second pattam to Vijaya Ranga Choka Nât'ha, in that case his right to the inheritance as a whole must have been defeated by an adoption, and he could not under any circumstances take more than a life estate: and if so, then it would have been especially his interest to give his son in adoption, whereas on the contrary the history of the Karnataca Governors takes great care to bring prominently forward the fact that Vangâru Tirumala refused to give his son in adoption, on the ground that he was entitled to the inheritance in his own right. Taking all the facts of the case as they stand, there can be no question I think but that Vangâru Tirumala had no title whatever either as heir or as second pattam; and that he willingly gave his son in adoption because he well knew that he had no title himself.

It will be observed that the fact of the adoption has been taken



as proved, although flatly denied by the history of the Karnataca Governors: and it should therefore be explained that the evidence in its favour would seem to be overwhelmingly strong. The MS. of the Record Office expressly affirms that there was an adoption, the validity of which was always admitted by everybody but Vangâru Tirumala. The MS. translated at page 232, volume ii. of the O. H. MSS., states that the infant "was adopted and installed by being anointed when four years old by Mînâkshi;" and also that Mînâkshi performed the funeral rites of her husband, which she would not have done had there been an heir to the crown other than the adopted son. And the Pandion Chronicle, translated at page 245 of the same work, states that Vangâru Tirumala took his son "the crowned Prince" a few years later to Trichinopoly, and unless the boy had been adopted by Mînâkshi he could not have been crowned during the life-time of his father. And the same MS. states that where the father and son were both pensioners of the Nabob of the Carnatic, the former received a hundred Rupees per diem as subsistence money, whilst the latter received as many Pagodas: and this difference can only be accounted for by supposing that the son had been crowned King of Madura after his adoption, and was therefore a more important personage than his father. And lastly, the Srîtala book and all the native MSS. generally which speak of this period, seem to speak of Vangâru Tirumala's son *in* terms which seem to show conclusively that he was held to be a man of much higher position and entitled to far more consideration than Vangâru Tirumala himself; and this could hardly have happened, as will be seen hereafter, had not the son been adopted. I think therefore that the fact of the adoption may be taken to have been proved with sufficient clearness; and that the fact of its existence was falsely denied in the history of the Karnataca Governors solely because it was fatal to Vangâru Tirumala's pretensions, and by consequence to those of his descendants.

Whatever may have been the nature of the claim, it was put forward with great vigour and resolution, and it was supported by the most convincing of arguments, a numerous armed force. Wilks tells us, no doubt upon sufficient authority, that the minister who made a handle of Vangâru Tirumala succeeded in forcibly entering the fortress of Trichinopoly, and came near to destroying the Râni before she was aware of his intentions: but after a short and sharp struggle was repulsed and driven outside.



It was probably not long after this that an attack was made upon the Hindû kingdoms of the south by the Mahometans of Arcot. In the introductory part of the *Mission du Maduré* it is stated that in the year 1734 Daust Ali Khân the Nabob of Arcot, being desirous of forming a principality for the benefit of his eldest son Safdar Ali Khân, attacked the rulers of Madura and Tanjore who had neglected to pay to the Nabob the tribute for which they had made themselves liable. Accordingly Safdar Ali Khân and Chandâ Sahêb, the son-in-law and confidential minister of the Nabob, were placed at the head of a large army and entrusted with a sort of roving commission to fall upon and spoil all such kingdoms situated in the extreme end of the peninsula as still remained in the hands of Hindû rulers. Trichinopoly would seem to have been too strong for the invaders; and no attempt was made to reduce it by force. But Tanjore was carried by storm, and placed in the hands of Bada Sahêb the brother of Chandâ Sahêb: and the Mahometans marched thence into the kingdom of Travancore and made themselves masters of it with the greatest ease. Encouraged by these successes they made a raid up the Western Coast, sacking cities and spreading desolation in every direction, and after collecting a considerable booty returned to Arcot.

This expedition does not appear to have been heard of by Orme or Wilks or Duff: but I think there can be no reason to doubt that the general description of it above given is correct, as the information in the *Mission du Maduré* is apparently extracted wholly from letters written at the time the events described took place. And some evidence may be found in the O. H. MSS. corroborative of the fact of the appearance of the Mahometans before Trichinopoly at this time. A memoir translated at page 233, vol. ii, states that Chandâ Sahêb came to Trichinopoly on two separate occasions; and there is nothing in the history of the Karnataka Governors inconsistent with this statement.

When the Mahometans came to Trichinopoly in 1734, Vangâru Tirumala, or more probably the man who used him as a tool, made overtures to Safdar Ali Khân and offered to pay him three millions of Rupees if he would oust the Râni and make over the kingdom to the pretender. The Nabob's son was only too happy to accede to this arrangement, and the offer was accepted without hesitation: but there was a by no means unimportant impediment in the way of the agreement being carried out, namely the circumstance of Trichino-



poly being an uncommonly strong place and being in the hands of the Râni. Moreover the Râni was perfectly cognizant of what was going on, and was quite certain to take all necessary precautions against surprise. It seemed hopeless therefore to attempt to do anything by force, and being anxious to get hold of the promised reward as speedily as possible, Safdar Ali Khân adopted the following ingenious plan. A manifesto was issued, in which it was stated that in order to put an end to the unhappy differences existing between the Râni and the Prince, his Highness the Nabob's son would take upon himself the responsibility of deciding the question at issue; and in order that he might have ample materials upon which to found his judgment, all interested in the decision of the case and all the legal pundits in the kingdom were invited to appear before him and favor him with their opinions touching the law bearing upon the question. This invitation was of course disregarded by the Queen's adherents: and it need not be a matter of surprise if a decision in favor of Vangâru Tirumala was very speedily arrived at. A bond for the amount stipulated for was then executed by the successful suitor, and delivered to the judge: who forthwith marched away, leaving Chandâ Sahêb to enforce if he could the execution of the award.

The Queen seems to have been alarmed by the turn which affairs had taken, and negotiations were opened with Chandâ Sahêb with the object of inducing him to violate his instructions and go away. The Mahometan was not slow to take advantage of this almost un hoped for opportunity; and intrigued to so good effect that at last he prevailed upon the Queen's party to engage to pay him the enormous sum of one crore of Rupees, more than a million sterling, in consideration of him ignoring the award and placing the Queen in undisturbed possession of the kingdom. The Queen was sufficiently sensible to mistrust the mere promise of a man who showed himself to be so little troubled with scruples of honor and conscience, and insisted upon his taking an oath upon the Koran that he would observe to the letter the terms of his agreement. Accordingly Chandâ Sahêb was conducted by the Queen's brother to a building on the banks of the Kâvéri called the Dalavây-mantapam, and then took a solemn oath to give over the kingdom to Mînâkshi in its entirety, and never to betray her interests in any the slightest degree. Wilks says that this oath was taken upon a brick covered with a handsome cover and made to look like a Koran; and very



possibly this was so, but I have not come across any evidence going to corroborate the assertion, and no other historian than Wilks appears to know anything about the matter. After the oath was taken, a large quantity of treasure and numbers of elephants, horses and other property were delivered to Chandâ Sahêb in pledge for the future payment of the sum promised ; and he was then admitted into the fort, and proclaimed the news that he had changed his side, and intended to support the Queen

Vangâru Tirumala appears to have been residing in Trichinopoly at this time, and to have been on perfectly good terms with his rival. And it is stated both in the history of the Karnataka Governors and in the memoir translated at page 232 of the O. H. MSS., that soon after Chandâ Sahêb entered the fort the Queen sent off Vangâru Tirumala and his son to Madura in order to ensure their safety. This extraordinary state of things may perhaps be accounted for on the supposition that Vangâru Tirumala was a weak inoffensive man and personally liked by the Queen, and was made use of against his will by a strong faction, which would have opposed the Queen's authority with equal boldness and energy if Vangâru Tirumala had not been in existence. And it was of course to her interest to shield her adopted son, inasmuch as her title to the Regency wholly depended upon her right as mother to be guardian of the minor King. Accordingly Vangâru Tirumala retired with his son to Madura, and commenced, probably with the express sanction of the Queen, to administer the southern provinces and also Dindigul.

Chandâ Sahêb, astute as he was, appears to have been entirely disconcerted by this thoroughly Hindû arrangement. He had been admitted into the fort for the sole purpose as he supposed of destroying the Queen's rival ; and the moment he set about doing the work he had undertaken, that rival was spirited away out of his reach, and actually permitted to assume the government of a large portion of the Queen's dominions. He concluded therefore that it was useless for him to remain where he was, and soon afterwards went off to Arcot ; resolving however to return on the first favorable opportunity and carry out the scheme of ambition which a very short acquaintance with the state of the Madura kingdom had shown to be practicable.

There is nothing to show what was done upon this by the faction opposed to the Queen : but there is every reason to suppose that it was not inactive, and that it intrigued with Chandâ Sahêb. For in



the year 1736 he came a second time to Trichinopoly, and having been admitted into the fort, probably not without some misgivings on the part of the Queen, proceeded to make himself master of the whole kingdom. Whether as Orme suggests the Queen fell in love with him; or whether he persuaded her that it lay in his power to destroy her enemies, the minister and other leaders of the hostile faction, and to place her in a far better position than she could hope to attain unaided; or whether he altogether ignored her wishes and declared to her at the outset what his plans and intentions were; it is probably now impossible to discover. But it is clear that he succeeded within a very short time in usurping the entire government of the provinces then in the Queen's possession, and in reducing her to the position of a mere puppet. Having established himself firmly in Trichinopoly, Chandâ Sahêb next turned his attention to the conquest of Madura and the provinces governed by Vangâru Tirumala. He is said to have assembled a force of eight thousand cavalry and some infantry, and to have despatched them under the command of two Brâhmans of the Queen's party, Gôvindayya and Râvanayya with instructions to commence operations by gaining possession of the fort of Dindigul. The troops stationed in the neighbourhood were defeated or forced to retire; and it was very speedily taken by storm. The army then marched upon Madura, and as a last hope Vangâru Tirumala hastily collected a few troops, horse and foot, and sent them to Ammaya-Nâyakkan-ûr to oppose an enemy four times as numerous: leaving the capital completely unprotected. A battle was soon afterwards fought; and the Madura troops being reinforced by those of a few Poligars, seem to have made a determined stand: but their leaders were both killed after having fought bravely for some hours, and after this misfortune no further resistance was offered to the invaders. There was now nothing to stop Chandâ Sahêb's victorious Generals; and as they were about to enter Madura, Vangâru Tirumala hastily quitted it and fled for protection to the Râja of Sivagangei, by whom he was kindly received and placed for safety in the fort of Vellei-Kurichi. The whole country was then overrun by Chandâ Sahêb's troops, and speedily reduced to at least nominal submission.

Chandâ Sahêb now threw off the mask and showed himself in his true colors. His schemes had all succeeded; the Madura kingdom, or at all events the greater and more important portion of it was held by his troops; Vangâru Tirumala was a refugee; and Mînakshi was a



helpless woman, living in a building which he could at any moment seize and turn into a prison. Accordingly he openly proclaimed himself to be the ruler of the Madura kingdom, and locking up the Queen in her Palace assumed to himself all the power and dignity of a Sovereign Prince. And thinking after a while that the Queen might find means to do him harm, and that she was an expense to him; and finding perhaps that the presence of the poor woman in the Palace was productive of unpleasant action on the part of what he supposed to be his conscience, he began to take into consideration the advisability of murdering her. But he was saved the trouble of committing this fresh crime. Her misfortunes were more than Mînakshi could endure; and weary of her life she took poison and placed herself beyond the reach of her betrayer.

Had Vangâru Tirumala been a man of ordinary spirit, or had the party of which he was the tool been composed of men respectable by reason of their position or eminent on account of ability and courage, there can be no doubt that the death of Mînakshi would have opened a door for the expulsion of the Mahometans and the restoration of the Nâyakkan dynasty. With all his courage and versatility of genius, Chandâ Sahêb could not have resisted with any chance of success such an army as Tirumala sent against the Dalavây, or such an army as Choka Nat'ha led against Tanjore. His resources were undoubtedly extremely limited; and his influence was probably altogether inappreciable outside the limits of the tracts of country immediately dependent on the principal fortresses of which he had become the master. And what influence he had, must have been in no small degree invalidated by the jealousy which his proceedings had excited at Arcot. But Vangâru Tirumala had always been an imbecile, and was now growing old and infirm; whilst amongst his party there was not one single man of mark. Moreover he had never been in possession of extensive funds, and was at this time completely destitute of resources. He had not a rood of land which he could call his own, and as there was no immediate prospect of him gaining any he had of course no credit amongst the bankers. And the Poligars, who had long since shaken off their allegiance to the Lord of Madura and had never been very punctual in the matter of paying tribute even when the Madura government was at its strongest, were not very likely now that every thing was in confusion to come forward with heavy contributions in recognition of Vangâru Tirumala's utterly unfounded



claims. It is not to be wondered at therefore if the opportunity afforded by Mînâkshi's death was suffered to slip away unheeded; and if Chandâ Sahêb was left for the moment in undisturbed enjoyment of his ill-gotten gains.

Vangâru Tirumala could do nothing for himself: and he knew it. His only chance therefore was to call to his aid a stronger man than Chandâ Sahêb: and he roused himself at last to beg the Mahrattas of Satara to come and help him. The chiefs of that restless people, ever alive to the advantages of invasion and plunder, were willing enough to listen to his request; and the more so as they had been called upon by more than one power to invade the Carnatic—it was even thought that the Nizam-ul-mulk himself had invited them to chastise Daust Ali Khân—and as they saw a rare chance of advancing their peculiar interests by an expedition into the south modelled upon that of the great Sivaji. Accordingly at the end of the year 1739 Rag'huji B'honslai marched southwards at the head of a large force of cavalry; the *Mission du Maduré* says sixty thousand horse and one hundred and fifty thousand foot, Orme says one lac of cavalry, the native MSS. sixty thousand horse, and the cautious Duff fifty thousand.

The operations of the invading army have not been described with much fulness by English historians; and they do not seem to be quite clear with regard to the actual results obtained by the Mahrattas on this occasion. It will therefore be well for me to give a brief account of their doings as described in the *Mission du Maduré*. It appears from this authority that as soon as Daust Ali Khân who was at Arcot heard of the approach of the enemy, he sent off an express to his son to come at once to his assistance, and pending his arrival marched off to defend the various defiles by which it was likely that the Mahrattas would attempt to enter his dominions. The defence of the least important of them was entrusted to a Hindû General: and as soon as he became aware of this fact, Ra'ghuji B'honslai set to work to corrupt the fidelity of this Officer by offering him valuable presents, and by representing that it was his duty as a Hindû to assist the Mahrattas in crushing the Mahometans and replacing on their lost thrones the representatives of the ancient families of the south. The Hindû was convinced by these specious arguments, or tempted by the liberal promises which accompanied them and gave up his post. Upon this the Mahrattas



marched through the pass, and after a time came up with Daust Ali Khân at a place only four French leagues west of Pondicherry. It is not explained why Daust Ali left the ghauts and marched to the coast, nor why the Mahrattas suffered him to reach its neighbourhood without a battle : but it is said that Daust Ali was in complete ignorance of the fact that his enemies had circumvented him, and that when he saw them he actually mistook them for the army of his son up to the very moment when they opened fire upon him. The battle is stated to have taken place on the 20th May 1740—the date given by Orme—and to have been fought with obstinate fury on either side. The courage was horrible, and it was not until Daust Ali was killed and fell from his howdah that victory inclined towards the Mahrattas. But that event at once put an end to the conflict. The rout of the Mahometans was complete ; almost all their principal officers were slain ; and the remains of the army sought safety in a precipitate flight. M. Dumas the Governor of Pondicherry thought it advisable to afford an asylum to the family of the Nabob ; and accordingly permitted the women and children of Daust Ali of Safdar Ali and of Chandâ Sahêb to enter the walls of his fortress, accompanied by a very large retinue, and received them with all the honors due to their rank. The convoy consisted of twenty palanquins escorted by fifteen hundred horsemen, eighty elephants, three hundred camels, two hundred carriages, and two thousand beasts laden with treasure. Other families of distinction were also admitted within the fortress : and a crowd of troops were suffered to encamp under its walls.

Two days afterwards Safdar Ali came up with an escort of four hundred horse, and having been apprised of the defeat and death of his father fled at once to Vellore. He was followed thither by the Mahrattas, and forced to conclude a peace of which the price was the payment of a hundred lacs of Rupees, about a million sterling, and the cession to their rightful owners of all the kingdoms of the south. But Chandâ Sahêb would not recognize this treaty, and declined to give up Trichinopoly : and accordingly the Mahrattas proceeded to invest that fortress. The siege was conducted with great resolution and energy. Chandâ Sahêb's brother, Bada Sahêb, marched to his assistance but was unable to enter Trichinopoly, and was killed fighting bravely. And the fortress was presently carried by assault ; and Chandâ Sahêb made a prisoner and taken off to Satara.



This account differs in several particulars from that given by Orme, and certainly seems to be by far the more trustworthy. It will be observed that is said in the *Mission du Maduré* about the the secret treaty between the Mahrattas and Safdar Ali ; and nothing about the Mahrattas pretending to return to their own country after concluding the peace, and then hurrying back to Trichinopoly from Sevegunga and suddenly falling upon Trichinopoly before Chandâ Sahêb could lay in provisions sufficient for a siege. Orme's story of Chandâ Sahêb selling all his stores of grain the moment the Mahrattas turned their backs upon his capital, and having no time to lay in fresh stores before they returned, seems to say the least of it highly improbable; and one would much like to know his authority for the statement. Considering that Chandâ Sahêb was possessed of only one considerable fortress ; that he was a Mahometan holding by force a country which he had taken from Hindûs by most disgraceful and fraudulent conduct ; that he was at variance with Safdar Ali : and as far as is known had not a single influential friend to support him ; looking to all these circumstances it seems to me to be almost incredible that he should be guilty of so prodigious a blunder as selling off all his stores of grain and thereby leaving himself at the mercy of the first large army which might happen to attack him. Orme states that after the peace, the date of which he does not mention, the Mahrattas marched off to a place called Sevegunga, and having encamped there until December, broke up their camp on hearing of the sale of the grain, and "by very expeditious marches appeared in sight of Trichinopoly before he could remedy the distress to which he had unwarily reduced it." It is not stated where this Sevegunga was situated, nor in what way the Mahrattas were occupied whilst encamped there, but Duff places Sew Gunga at a distance of two hundred and fifty miles from Trichinopoly and Wilks adds that it lies N. W. of that town ; and Duff states that whilst his main army remained at Sew Gunga Rag'huji B'houslai went to Satara upon an important errand. Now whilst very unwilling to call in question the accuracy of so precise an historian as Duff, I cannot refrain from suggesting that his Sew Gunga, the Sevegunga of Orme, was in fact Sivagangei the capital of the Zamindâri of that name in the Madura district, and that before the Mahrattas sat down before Trichinopoly they occupied themselves with over-running and plundering the Madura and Tanjore kingdoms. Not only is the story told by Orme and those who followed him exceedingly



improbable in itself: but we have the authority of the Mission du Maduré for the statement that after the death of Daust Ali the Mahrattas "spread carnage and desolation over the kingdoms of Tanjore and Madura." And as Vangâru Tirumala was protected by the Râja of Sivangangei or Shevagunga as the English call it, and invited the Mahrattas to come and help him, nothing could be more natural than to suppose that they marched to Sivagangei and had an interview with the pretender before laying siege to the town occupied by the usurper of the Madura kingdom.

The fall of Trichinopoly in March 1741 and the capture of its master had been preceded by the death of Bada Sahêb the governor of Madura, and that of another brother of Chandâ Sahêb, named according to Orme Saduck Sahêb, who had been appointed to the command of the fort of Dindigul and was killed in attempting to succour Chandâ Sahêb. Accordingly the kingdom of Madura was now reduced to a state of complete anarchy, from which it was rescued only to be finally dismembered and divided amongst a number of petty chiefs and adventurers. But little needs to be told of the deeds of these men, and one more chapter will bring us down to the period of the final assumption of the whole country by the British Government at the commencement of the present century.





## CHAPTER XI.

FROM A.D. 1741 TO A.D. 1790.

*Morari Râû Governor.—The Nizam drives him out.—The pretender becomes a pensioner at Arcot.—Mohammad Ali and his brother Mak'hphâz Khân rule the country.—Mayana.—Allum Khân.—The repulse of Captain Cope.—His success.—Madura is sold to Mysore.—The adopted son of Mînakshi is crowned King.—And is deposed.—Colonel Heron's expedition.—The Kallans' idols.—The Fakîr's umbrella.—The miracle in the Pagoda.—Mohammad Yûsuf Khân.—Mak'hphâz Khân's misrule.—The revolt in Madura.—The Muthali appointed Renter.—Captain Calliaud's expedition.—Madura is recovered.—Anarchy.—The Kallans are chastised.—Hyder Ali's raid into the country.—Mohammad Yûsuf drives him off.—Mohammad Yûsuf rebels.—He is hanged.—His history.—His character.—His successors' incapacity.—The peace of 1772.—Hyder Ali's descent upon the Carnatic.—State of the country in consequence.—Colonel Fullarton's expedition.—The first Collector at Madura.—The Dindigul country made over to Mysore.—Its revenues.—The Poligars are refractory.—Hyder Ali chastises them.—The secret of his success.—The battle of Vattila-gundu.—The siege of Dindigul.—Mîr Sahêb.—Colonel Lang takes Dindigul.—Sequestrations.—Syed Sahêb.—Tippu Sultân resumes all the pâleiyams.—Dindigul is taken again by the British.—And is finally held by them.—The division of the Râmnâd kingdom.—Vellian Sêrveikâran.—He helps Chandâ Sahêb.—His raid amongst the Poligars.—The prostrations in themud.—He imprisons the Sêthupati.—His alliance with Colonel*



*Heron.—The Regency.—Mohammad Yâsuf demands tribute.—The Râja of Tanjore is defeated.—The expedition of General Joseph Smith.—Mâpillei Têvan's disturbances.—Sivagangei affairs.—The Murdus — Description of the country in 1785.—The Kalla country — State of Christianity.—Relapse of the Kallans.—The great Beschi.—His works.*

THE political history of the Madura kingdom as such has now come to an end : it only remains for me to trace as closely as circumstances will permit the events which took place between 1741 and 1801 in the several fragments into which the kingdom was split up ; or rather of those fragments which are at present comprised in the Collectorate of Madura. It will be the business of other servants of the Government to write hereafter the history of Salem, Coimbatore, Trichinopoly, Puthu Kôttei, Tinnevely and other provinces which once belonged to the Pândya-mandalam : and it would be a mere waste of time and labour on my part to attempt without possessing any local knowledge of those provinces to give their history.

Before commencing what will be it is to be feared a very meagre and unsatisfactory account of a period remarkable for nothing but a wearisome state of anarchy and confusion, the monotony of which was but slightly varied at intervals by various fortresses changing hands after more or less bloodshed and treachery, it is necessary to remark that in future the names Madura, Dindigul, and others will be used to denote towns only without any reference being made to tracts of country.

After taking Trichinopoly the Mahratta leader Rag'huji B'honslai appointed Morâri Raû to be its governor temporarily ; and the latter appointed Appâji Raû to be the governor of the less important fortress of Madura. The only recorded act of the new governor was the bringing back to Madura of the idols which had been removed to Mâna Madura for safety when Chandâ Sahêb usurped the government of the country : and it seems probable that he was a man of subordinate position, who had neither the means nor the authority to do anything beyond keeping the fort safely and collecting the revenues of a small tract of country. We may assume without hesitation that the Poligars paid no attention to his commands, if he was foolish enough to issue any to them : and there is nothing to show that he was in possession of any part of the country in the neighbourhood of Tinne-



velly. It is stated in the Pandion Chronicle that Vangâru Tirumala had an interview with Rag'huji B'honslai at Trichinopoly; and that before that leader left Trichinopoly he directed Morâri Raû to place the Pretender upon the throne of Madura, upon his entering into an engagement to pay thirty lacs of Rupees as the price of the service rendered to him by his friends. And it is also stated, though in rather ambiguous terms, that these orders were executed. But it seems perfectly clear that whatever the Mahrattas may have said, nothing was done by them; and they never intended to do anything towards the surrender of their conquests into the hands of an imbecile who evidently could not have kept them for a twelvemonth.

In 1743 the great Nizam-ul-mulk determined to drive back the Mahrattas into their own country; and entered the Carnatic at the head of a great army "in which the riches, the luxury, and the magnificence vied with the prodigious number and valour of his soldiers." Morâri Raû was quite unable to cope with an antagonist so formidable as the Nizam, and gave up the fort at once: and Madura was in like manner surrendered by its governor.

According to the Pandion Chronicle Vangâru Tirumala bestirred himself yet again and visited the Nizam, in the hope of obtaining his favor and assistance. The Nizam received him kindly, it is said, and promised to do what he could for him, and took him and his son to Gelkonda. And after appointing Anwar-udîn Khân to act as Nabob of Arcot, he one day put Vangâru Tirumala's hand in the Nabob's, and ordered the latter to protect the Nâyakkan, and to place him in possession of the Madura kingdom upon receiving from him the sum of thirty lacs of Rupees and a promise of a like amount annually in the shape of tribute. After this Anwar-u-dîn treated Vangâru Tirumala with great consideration, making him immediately an allowance of a hundred Rupees per diem for his support, and his son one of a hundred Pagodas; and promising him at the same time to put him in possession of the Madura country, so soon as he should have disposed of some emergent business. But these promises were never fulfilled. The Pandion Chronicle says that Vangâru Tirumala was poisoned soon afterwards by Anwar-u-dîn whilst living at Arcot as a pensioner, the Nabob being jealous of him and wishing to keep Madura for himself: but the story seems highly improbable and certainly needs corroboration. After the death of his father the minor Nâyak'kan returned to Vellei-Kurichi where his family still resided, and sometime afterwards married a relation of the Râja of



Sivagangei his protector. He never returned to Arcot: and if he had any intention of so doing, it was frustrated by Chandâ Sahêb regaining his liberty in 1748, and shortly afterwards attacking and *slaying* Anwar-u-dîn. After this it would have been worse than useless for him to leave Vellei-Kurichi; and so he continued to live in obscurity and inaction, and troubled himself no farther about rights of which the fates clearly denied him the enjoyment.

After the defeat and death of Anwar-u-dîn at Ambûr, his second son Mohammad Ali fled to Trichinopoly and proclaimed himself Nabob of Arcot; and it became necessary for the ambitious Chandâ Sahêb to defeat and oust him from that stronghold, or he could by no means maintain his own superiority. He had been appointed Nabob of Arcot by his friend and ally Murzafa Jing, and it behoved him to establish his position: accordingly he marched to Pondicherry, and after a little coquetting on the part of the famous French Governor, Monsieur Dupleix, induced the French to espouse his cause, whilst the English espoused that of his antagonist. And then followed the operations against Tanjore; the march of Nazir Jing into the southern provinces; his retreat and murder; the flight of Mohammad Ali; and the other events described by Orme, which led up to Chandâ Sahêb marching to Arcot and being generally recognized as the real Nabob in 1751.

From the time of the expulsion of the Mahrattas by the Nizam in 1744 until 1747 or 48, the Madura country appears to have been held by officers appointed by Anwar-u-dîn and Mohammad Ali: and in the Record Office at Madura there still exist four Persian orders purporting to have been issued by these Nabobs during this period. The two earliest purport to have been issued by Mohammad Ali Khân; the two latest by Anwar-u-dîn Khân. And the existence of these orders strongly corroborates the statement made in the *Srî-tâla* book and in the Record Office MS. (to which we have so many times had occasion to refer) to the effect that the Nizam appointed Mak'hphûz Khân and Mohammad Ali Khân to rule the country. If he did, they must have been subordinate to their father, and his orders would be valid within the limits of their jurisdiction. The Record Office MS. next goes on to say that the two sons of the Nabob left the country in charge of one Mayana in 1748, and went away: and this statement is perfectly consistent with the supposition that they were called away by their father to assist him in the crisis brought on by the liberation of Chandâ Sahêb. This Mayana seems to have been sup-



planted by a Mahometan named 'Abdul-hakimat Khân, possibly immediately after the battle of Ambûr and the death of Anwar-ud-dîn; and this man was in his turn ousted by Allum Khân who is called in the Srî-tâla book a cousin, and in the Record Office MS. a brother-in-law of Mayana. Orme states that Allum Khân was a soldier of fortune who had formerly been in the service of Chandâ Sahêb and afterwards in that of the King of Tanjore, and that having left the service of the latter "he came to Madura, where his reputation as an excellent officer soon gained him influence and respect, " which he employed to corrupt the garrison, and succeeded so well, " that the troops created him governor, and consented to maintain the " city under his authority for Chandâ Sahêb, whom he acknowledged " as his sovereign."

This account agrees sufficiently well with that given in the Srî-tâla book, which makes him to have come with two thousand cavalry by way of the Tondiman's country, and to have taken the fort and ruled the country for one year. Taking the two accounts together we may perhaps conclude that he was invited to come to Madura by his relation Mayana, the ex-governor, and took advantage of the opportunity to make himself master of the fort: and observing the turn which events had just previously taken in favor of his old master Chandâ Sahêb, he very naturally proclaimed his adherence to the cause of the successful claimant of the Nabobship.

At the commencement of 1751 whilst Allum Khân was ruling in Madura a detachment was sent by Mohammad Ali against the city, in the hope that by taking it he might be enabled to re-establish his authority in the South. Orme thus describes what took place.

"The loss of this place, by cutting off the communication between "Trichinopoly and the countries of Tinivelly, deprived Mahomed-ally of more than one-half of the dominions which at this time "remained under his jurisdiction. On receiving the news, Captain "Cope offered his service to retake it. His detachment was ill "equipped for a siege, for they had brought no battering cannon from "Fort St. David, and there were but two serviceable pieces in the "city: with one of these, three field pieces, two cohorns, and 150 "Europeans, he marched away, accompanied by 600 of the Nabob's "cavalry, commanded by another of his brothers Abdul-wahab "Khan; and on the day that they arrived in sight of Madura, "they were joined by the army returning from Tinivelly. There



"were several large breaches in the outward wall; the gun  
 "fired through one of them on the inward wall, and in two days  
 "demolished a part of it, although not sufficient to make the breach  
 "accessible without the help of fascines. Difficult as it was, it was  
 "necessary either to storm it immediately, or to relinquish the siege,  
 "for all the shot of the great gun were expended. The sepoy,  
 "encouraged by a distribution of some money, and a promise of much  
 "more if the place should be taken, went to the attack with as much  
 "spirit as the Europeans. The first wall was passed without resist-  
 "ance, and at the foot of the breach in the second appeared three  
 "champions, one of them a very bulky man in compleat armour,  
 "who fought manfully with their swords, and wounded several of  
 "the forlorn hope, but were at last with difficulty killed. Whilst  
 "the troops were mounting the breach, they were severely annoyed  
 "by arrows, stones, and the fire of match locks; notwithstanding  
 "which they gained the parapet, where the enemy had on each side  
 "of the entrance raised a mound of earth, on which they had laid  
 "horizontally some palm trees separated from each other, and through  
 "these intervals they thrust their pikes. At the bottom of the ram-  
 "part within the wall, they had made a strong retrenchment, with a  
 "ditch; and three or four thousand men appeared ready to defend  
 "this work with all kinds of arms. The troops, wounded by the  
 "pikes as fast as they mounted, were not able to keep possession of  
 "the parapet, and after fighting until ninety men were disabled,  
 "relinquished the attack. Four Europeans were killed: the sepoy  
 "suffered more, and four of their Captains were desperately wounded.  
 "The next day Captain Cope prepared to return to Trichinopoly,  
 "and blew the cannon to pieces, for want of means to carry it away.  
 "The troops of Mahomed-ally, encouraged by this repulse, no longer  
 "concealed their disaffection, and 500 horse, with 1,000 peons, went  
 "over to Allum Khan before the English broke up their camp, and  
 "two or three days after, near 2,000 more horsemen deserted like-  
 "wise to the enemy."

The pages of Orme contain no allusion to any subsequent success  
 of Captain Cope, and lead one to suppose that the expedition termin-  
 ated in his withdrawal after the severe repulse above described.  
 But Hindû accounts tell quite a different story. According to the  
 Srî-tâla book Allum Khân placed Mayana in charge of the Madura  
 country, and Mayana sold it to the Mysoreans; and Captain Cope  
 whose name is disguised by native kako-epy as Kukku Sahêb, took



possession in behalf of the Râja of Mysore, and was soon afterwards driven out by Velliyan Sêrveikâran the Dalavây of the Sêthupati, and Tândavarâya Pillei the Minister of Sivangangei. It is stated that these two besieged him from the 30th of the month Pirattâsi to the 20th of Kârtikei 1752-53, and on that day succeeded in forcing him to capitulate: and that they thereupon crowned the adopted son of Mînâkshi, and established him in Madura. He ruled for sixteen months, and was deposed by there Mahometan Captains: who were shortly afterwards besieged and forced to give up the fort by Captain Cope and the Dalavây of Râmnâd, who had entered into an offensive alliance against them. This account seems to be at first sight highly improbable. Why should Captain Cope be described as being in the service of the Râja of Mysore? And why should he enter into an alliance with the Dalavây of Râmnâd? And then the mere fact of the account being opposed to that given by Orme renders it very suspicious, not to say incredible. But on the other hand the Srî-tâla book contains a piece of evidence which is exceedingly favorable to the credibility of its account of Captain Cope's acts. It states incidentally that he polluted the town by causing many cows to be killed and eaten within its walls. This was a crime which none but an European would commit, and the commission of which a native historian would hardly record without good reason. And the account is directly corroborated by the Record Office MS., and by a memoir furnished to me by a Mahometan gentleman; and indirectly by other MSS: whilst however improbable it may appear to be at first sight, it is in no way inconsistent with the course of events which are known to have occurred about this time.

The Record Office MS. states that Mayana sold the country to the Mysoreans, and then retired into private life and lived in the fortress of Tirumbûr: and that Kukku Sahêb, a Mysorean General, took possession of Madura; and was compelled to surrender the fort to Tândavarâya Pillei and Velliyan Sêrvei, after fighting with them during the period stated in the Srî-tâla book. And it then speaks of the coronation and reign of Vangâru Tirumala's son, and of his subsequent expulsion by the Mahometans; and of the defeat of those Captains by the Râmnâd Dalavây: but says nothing about Captain Cope's alliance with the Dalavây.

All the native MSS. apparently concur with Orme in stating that after ruling Madura for a year, Allum Khân went to Trichinopoly to take part in the war that was going on round that fortress at the



beginning of 1752, and was soon afterwards killed there; and that before leaving Madura he appointed two Mahometans named respectively Mayana and Nabi Khân to be commanders, the first who was his relation of Madura, the second of Tinnevelly. And it seems clear that soon after the death of Allum Khân and the murder of Chandâ Sahêb by Mohammad Ali, Mayana in conjunction with his son-in-law Mohammad Barki, entered into some intrigues which resulted in the cession of Madura to some party or power. Now it appears from Wilks, vol. i, chapter viii, that early in 1752 a Mysorean army marched to the assistance of Mohammad Ali, and it is quite possible, although neither Wilks nor Orme tells us anything about it, that a detachment of Mysoreans was commanded by Captain Cope in his expedition against Madura; and if so, the fact of his being called a Mysorean General in the native MSS. would be very naturally accounted for. And on the supposition that he contrived to get possession of Madura by paying to Mayana a sum of money advanced by the Mysoreans for the purpose, the account given in the Srî-tâla book and the Record Office MS. becomes at once intelligible and credible. The Râja of Mysore was in possession of Dindigul at this time: and if he thought proper to buy the adjoining province of Madura, when professedly an ally of Mohammad Ali who claimed to be its master, the transaction would of course be kept strictly secret. It is quite possible too, that the terms of the transfer were unknown for some time to Captain Cope, and that being ignorant of the Tamil language he took possession of the fortress under the impression that it had been surrendered to Mohammad Ali.

However this may have been, whether Captain Cope was hoodwinked, or whether he was guilty of treacherous and unsoldierlike conduct, and whether or not he took possession of Madura, I think there can be no doubt that in the year 1752 the adopted son of Mînâkshi was declared king of the Pândya-mandalam by Mayana and his colleagues, assisted by the governments of Râmnâd and Sivagangei: and enjoyed a species of mock sovereignty for some few months. He was then deposed and sent back to Vellei-Kurichi by his Mahometan patrons, who seem to have been bought over by Mohammad Ali. Orme states that Mohammad Ali produced as evidence of his title to the sovereignty of Madura and Tinnevelly a writing which purported to have been signed by Mayana, Mohammad Barki, and Nabi Khân, and was dated the 29th November 1752; and it would seem to be not unlikely that this document, which acknowledged the justice of



Mohammad Ali's claims, was executed shortly before Mayana found it convenient to relegate his client to the obscurity from out of which he had dragged him. Mayana is said to have been in his turn expelled by the Dalavây of Râmnâd : but whether this is true or not it is impossible to say. According to Orme Mohammad Barki was in possession of Madura in 1755. Perhaps although he was attacked and defeated by the Râmnâd Dalavây, he was nevertheless permitted to retain Madura as a tributary and vassal of Râmnâd, and on condition that he disavowed Mohammad Ali's authority. Orme states that the Poligar of Maravar, by whom I suppose he means the Sêthupati, sided with Chandâ Sahêb and the Mysoreans against Mohammad Ali ; and it is therefore quite possible that he attacked Mayana, when Mayana changed sides and sold himself to the Nabob.

In the beginning of 1755 another expedition was sent by Mohammad Ali against Madura and Tinnevely, consisting of five hundred Europeans and two thousand Sepoys furnished by the Honorable Company, and commanded by Colonel Heron an officer newly arrived from England, and one thousand horse commanded by Mak'hphûz Khân, the Nabob's elder brother. The operations of these forces are described at length by Orme, and it will be sufficient for me to notice only a few of them very briefly.

As soon as the English appeared in sight of Madura, the gates were thrown open to them without any resistance being offered and apparently without any treachery being employed. A deputation from the Sêthupati awaited their arrival ; and Colonel Heron was induced by the promises held out to him to enter into an alliance with that chief, upon his own responsibility and without waiting for orders from Madras. After the business was concluded, it was resolved to forthwith attack Mayana the Governor of Madura, who had fled to Kôvil-kudi a place a few miles west of Madura, and ensconced himself in the strongly built Pagoda of Tirumbûr. Accordingly in the evening a large force of Sepoys was sent on with orders to surround the Pagoda and wait until the British came up with battering guns. By mistake these orders were not carried out : and when the British troops arrived at their destination they found that Mayana had escaped, that the guns had broken down on the road, and that the scaling ladders had been forgotten. But the Pagoda was stormed notwithstanding these impediments. Colonel Heron, with a rashness of which an officer in his position ought to



have been heartily ashamed, carried a torch to the gates and set fire to some bundles of straw which he caused to be piled up against them, and Mohammad Yûsuf Khân the commander of the Sepoys followed his example: and within an hour or so the gates were burnt down and the place taken. The troops were permitted to plunder the Pagoda, and amongst other things they carried off a large number of brazen idols which were very dear in the eyes of the Kallans of the neighbourhood, hoping to be able to sell them for at all events their weight of metal. Orme justly observes that this act brought upon those who were guilty of it a vast amount of odium and detestation: and it is observable that contemptible as was the value of the plundered articles, this circumstance is the only one recorded in the Record Office MS. in connection with Mak'hphûz Khân's stay in Madura. As Mayana had escaped, and Madura had been given up, there was no occasion for Colonel Heron to stay any longer in the country; and leaving a garrison of Europeans and Sepoys in the city, he moved off to Tinnevely in the month of March. He returned in May, having engaged meanwhile in some disgraceful transactions which subsequently led to his dismissal from the service: and after reinforcing the garrison marched off towards the Nattam pass on the 28th May. The disaster which then befell him has been so fully described by Orme and is so familiar to his readers that it would be out of place to quote the passage here, and I shall content myself with observing that the *Srî-tâla* book speaks of the occurrence in such a manner as to show that if the idols had only been restored to the Kallans when they first surrounded the convoy, they would in all probability have been perfectly satisfied and the attack would have been at once discontinued. And indeed Orme's description seems to point to much the same conclusion.

Mak'hphus Khân is said by Orme to have obtained the farm of the Madura and Tinnevely countries from Colonel Heron at the yearly rent of 1,500,000 Rupees "having contrived every means to make the state of the province appear less advantageous than it really was," and having given that officer a considerable present. He placed in charge of Madura a man named Barkat Ulla. The only event which is recorded in native MSS. as having occurred during the administration of this officer was an attempt on the part of a lame Fakîr to establish a small mosque on the top of the unfinished Râyar-Gôpura at Madura, of which mention has been made at page 167 ante. His proceedings were made the more intolerable by him



contemptuously hoisting up an umbrella on one of the pillars of the building, and an immense crowd of Hindûs assembled daily round the gôpura, and endeavoured by entreaties and argument to dissuade him from carrying out his intention. But he persisted; and as he was supported by the authorities nothing could be done by the excited people beyond calling down curses upon the heads of those who wantonly insulted them. In the meanwhile the displeasure of the Gods was shown by a miracle which took place it is said in the sight of thousands of fervent worshippers. The image of B'hadra Kâli which stood on the south-east corner of the Royal Mantapam in the great Pagoda, opened its left eye at about forty-eight minutes after sunrise on the third of Tei in the Iva year, (A. D. 1755-6) and remained open until the morning of the fifth. Whether or no this miracle actually occurred, it is of course impossible to say: but the image of B'hadra Kâli may to this day be seen and the legend is always described to visitors to the Pagada.

In 1756 the Honorable East India Company's Government thought the time had come for them to take more decisive action with regard to the settlement of the Madura and Tinnevelly countries. Mak'h-phûz Khân's administration was altogether a failure; and unless timely steps were taken, there seemed to be every reason to fear that the countries would be lost. Not being able to spare any Europeans they despatched to the south Mohammad Yûsuf Khân the Commander-in-chief of all their coloured troops with a thousand Sepoys, and directed him to join them with those of Mak'hphûs Khân and of the Nabob, and take the command of the whole force. Mohammad Yûsuf arrived at Madura on the 6th April 1756, and proceeded at once to make a searching enquiry into the state of its defences. Orme states that the Governor of Madura, Danish Mend Khân who was better known by the name of Barkat Ulla, was very averse to though unable to prevent Mohammad Yûsuf's interference, and only with great reluctance agreed to receive a reinforcement of two companies of Sepoys into the town. And this statement seems to throw some light upon subsequent events, which will be described hereafter.

After spending a few days in inspecting the stores and fortifications, Mohammad Yûsuf moved off to Tinnevelly, wither we need not follow him. But the following passage from Orme must be quoted, as it shows very clearly and no doubt correctly the state of the country at this time.

“During this progress Mahomed Issoof had not been able to collect



"any money from the revenues, for the maintenance of his troops;  
 "because the ravages of the Polygars had ruined most of the villages  
 "and cultivated lands of the country through which he passed; and  
 "the real detriment of these devastations was increased by the pre-  
 "tences they furnished the land-holders to falsify their accounts,  
 "and plead exemptions for more than they had lost. He found  
 "Maphuze Cawn in greater distress than himself, unable either to  
 "fulfil the stipulations at which he had rented the country from  
 "Colonel Heron, or to supply the pay of the Company's sepoy left  
 "with him under the command of Jemaul Saheb, or even to furnish  
 "enough, exclusive of long arrears, for the daily subsistence of his  
 "own troops. This distress naturally deprived him of the necessary  
 "authority over the Jemmadars, or officers of his cavalry, who in  
 "Indostan, as the ancient mercenary captains of Italy, hire out their  
 "bands, and gain not a little by the bargain. Every kind of disorder  
 "likewise prevailed in all the other departments of his administra-  
 "tion, at the same time that the indolence and irresolution of his  
 "own character confirmed all the evils which had been introduced  
 "into his government."

Mohammad Yûsuf and Mak'hphûz Khân remained at Srivelliputtûr  
 in the Tinnevely country during the months of June and July,  
 making various arrangements with Poligars and others; and by the  
 end of that time the country was to all appearance quiet and likely  
 to so continue. Accordingly Mohammad Yûsuf requested Mak'hphûz  
 Khân to move off with his troops to Arcot, and there settle accounts  
 with his brother the Nabob; and Mak'hphûz Khân agreeing to the  
 proposal marched to Madura, apparently with the intention of doing  
 as requested, whilst Mohammad Yûsuf went to Tinnevely. As soon  
 as Mak'hphûz Khân reached Madura, his cavalry consisting of two  
 thousand picked men surrounded his house, headed by the governor  
 of the town; and declared that he should not move until they  
 had been paid their arrears of pay, which according to their  
 account amounted to seven lacs of Rupees. At the same time  
 three companies of Madras Sepoys who were in the town at  
 the time, were disarmed and turned out; and the brother of  
 Mohammad Barki entered the fort with two thousand Kalla troops  
 whom he had collected in the Nattam country. And soon after-  
 wards the standard of revolt was openly raised, and invitations  
 were issued to all the Poligars to assist in re-establishing the govern-  
 ment of Mak'hphûz Khân.



THIS step was taken by the troops of Mak'hphûz Khân, doubtless with his approval and concurrence, in consequence of a certain man of the Muthali caste whose name does not appear having taken from the Company the farm of the Tinnevelly country at a yearly rent of eleven lacs of Rupees. The agreement was concluded in the month of July, and he forthwith commenced to administer his country, after being invested with plenary jurisdiction civil and criminal; and having bound himself to maintain not less than one thousand of the Company's Sepoys, who were to be officered by the Company; and having undertaken to give sufficient security for the payment of his rent in three several instalments in each year. Orme says that this Muthali had a brother named Alagappa, and it is therefore probable that he was the brother of a Muthali who according to the history of the Karnataca Governors was made Dalavây to the adopted son of Mînâkshi during his brief tenure of authority in 1752. It is expressly stated that the Dalavây Alagappa was sent into the Tinnevelly country, and Orme says rather rashly that the family of the Muthalis had been renters of the country for a century. With regard to the terms of the rent, it is observable that Orme states that at that time Tinnevelly ordinarily yielded a revenue of from 11 to 12,00,000 Rupees per annum; but the Madura country being naturally sterile, and having become greatly reduced in extent in consequence of the encroachments of neighbours, and being surrounded by tribes of Kallans and the lawless subjects of the Poligars, yielded only about 1,20,000, whilst its expenses amounted to three times this sum: and it was only worth holding, because the fortress of Madura was the key of the districts of the south. But when Colonel Heron let Mak'hphûz Khân farm the two districts for 15,00,000 Rupees in 1755, it was generally supposed that he was bribed to accept so inadequate a consideration: and Orme tells us that this in the clearest manner. There is here a gross discrepancy which it is beyond my power to explain away.

On hearing of what had happened, Mohammad Yûsuf marched at once on Madura, and on the 10th of August encamped at Skandamalei. As his whole force consisted of only 1,500 Sepoys and six field pieces, and he had no battering cannon, he wisely concluded that it would be worse than useless to attempt to storm the place, protected as it was by superior numbers; and accordingly he resolved to await instructions from Captain Calliaud who was then holding Trichinopoly.



After all kinds of negotiations had been conducted between Captain Calliaud, Mohammad Yûsuf, Mak'hphûz Khân, Barkat Ulla, the officers who commanded the troops in possession of the fortress, and many other individuals, almost every Captain, Poligar, Râja and Chief of the south, espoused the cause of one or other of the contending parties; and a desultory war began, which has been fully and admirably described in the pages of Orme. In May 1757 Captain Calliaud made a gallant attempt to carry the fortress of Madura by escalade: but an unfortunate accident prevented him from succeeding, and he was repulsed with some loss. A few days afterwards he was compelled to hurry off to Trichinopoly to take part in the operations which were being conducted in its vicinity, leaving the greater part of his army before Madura; and he was unable to return to Madura until July. Immediately on his return he commenced breaching a rampart on the western side of the town with a couple of eighteen-pounders and four field pieces; and having knocked down the parapets of both the outer and inner walls, and having shattered the walls themselves to some extent within a few hours' time, he resolved to storm without delay. The storming party consisted of 120 Europeans led by Captain Calliaud himself, a company of Coffrees who followed them, and 400 Sepoys led by Mahommed Yûsuf who brought up the rear. The breach was ably and courageously defended; the loss sustained by the storming party was considerable; and after the expiration of half an hour Captain Calliaud ordered the retreat.

After this repulse Captain Calliaud's health which had been for some time failing, grew so dangerously bad as to compel him to leave the camp, and take rest in the village of Tiruvalûr. On the 4th of August he had recovered his strength sufficiently to admit of his resuming the command of the besieging army: and he found that the period during which he had been absent from the scene of operations had not been altogether barren of results. Some reinforcements and munitions of war had come into camp; some new allies had been gained; there was a great scarcity of food within the city; and altogether the prospect was by no means discouraging. Soon afterwards Barkat Ulla offered to give up the fortress if Captain Calliaud would pay or agree to pay him some twelve lacs of Rupees. This proposal was treated with contempt: but it led to further negotiations; and at last to the great relief of the authorities at Madras who were all this time in a great state of alarm lest the



French should contrive to get hold of Madura, the city was given up to Captain Calliaud in consideration of his paying Barkat Ulla the sum of Rupees 1,70,000. Of this amount one lac was to be allotted to the discharge of the arrears of pay due to the troops of Mak'hphûz Khân, 20,000 was to be a present to Barkat Ulla, each of the four Captains who signed the treaty with him was to receive 8,000, and the balance was to be divided amongst some other recipients.

After vainly endeavouring to come to terms with Mak'hphûz Khân, Mohammad Yûsuf marched with a considerable force to Tinnevely. No great results were obtained by him. Disturbances everywhere prevailed. The Kallans ravaged the country in every direction. The great Hyder Ali invaded the district round Madura; and was with difficulty beaten off. And lastly no revenues worth speaking of could be collected. Captain Calliaud was therefore sent after awhile to report upon the state of the country. His representations speedily convinced the Council at Madras that no permanent settlement of the country could be hoped for so long as Mak'hphûz Khân was permitted to remain in it, arrogating to himself all kinds of power and authority and maintaining an armed force; and it was accordingly proposed to the Nabob that his brother should be induced to quit the south by the promise of an adequate maintenance. The Nabob sent an agent to his brother in the Tinnevely country, with authority to make certain proposals to him: but nothing came of the attempt. Mak'hphûz Khân was a man of a foolish and stubborn disposition, utterly unable to see the reasonableness of any proposition to which he felt averse: and he perversely declined to consider any terms which were not based upon a recognition of his right to govern the whole of the two southern provinces. It seems too that he was too much under the influence of the most wrongheaded of the Poligars to act independently of them; and the hopes of these men were centered in an alliance with the French, who appeared to them at this time to be the rising power in the peninsula.

In July 1758 the urgent necessities of the Company's government compelled the recall of Mohammad Yûsuf from the southern districts: and this event was soon followed by their relapse into the state of anarchy and confusion from which that excellent officer had with so much difficulty rescued them. The garrison of Sepoys left in Madura could do nothing more than hold it, and collect enough revenue from the lands lying immediately underneath its walls to defray the cost



of their subsistence. The Kallans on the north and Poligars on the west ravaged unchecked whatever lands were cultivated between their boundaries and the tracts close to Madura: and in the south things were if possible in a still worse state, as Mak'hphûz Khân had thrown himself entirely into the arms of the principal of the rebel Poligars, and there was no longer any hope of bringing him to reason. The Company thought proper in these circumstances to grant the farm of both the Madura and Tinnevelly countries to Mohammad Yûsuf for one year for the very moderate sum of five lacs. He returned to his charge in the spring of 1759, and having resolved to apply strong remedies to the evils from which it was suffering, commenced his work by falling savagely on the Kallans of Nattam. Avenues were cut through their woods, and as they attempted to escape sharp-shooters posted in advantageous situations shot them down without mercy. Only a few were taken prisoners, and these were executed as malefactors of the deepest dye. After teaching this turbulent race an useful lesson, Mohammad Yûsuf marched to Tinnevelly at the head of a force of about 6,000 men, and there engaged in more or less important operations of which it is unnecessary to give the details.

In May 1760 Hyder Ali, who according to Wilks had by this time contrived to possess himself of almost the entire power of the government of Mysore, made a secret treaty with the French; who agreed amongst other things to assist him in conquering the southern countries of Madura and Tinnevelly. And shortly afterwards the Mysorean army stationed in the Dindigul district, which at that time included Vattila-gundu and other places not very far distant from the town of Madura, commenced hostilities against some of the Poligars whose feuds lay between them and Trichinopoly: and it was currently reported that they intended seizing the Nattam pass and thereby blocking up the road between Madura and Trichinopoly. In order to prevent this inconvenience Mohammad Yûsuf sent a detachment consisting of 1,500 Sepoys, 300 horse, and 3,000 Peons from Tinnevelly to Madura, with orders to march thence into the Dindigul country; and at the same time the officer in command of the Nabob's troops employed in the defence of Trichinopoly, marched with his whole force to Nattam. The Mysoreans did nothing until October, when they laid siege to the fort of Vattila-gundu, and after six days took it by assault. But a reinforcement from Madura came up next day and joined the troops who had been engaged in defending



the fort from without, and a successful attack was then made upon the enemy's camp: he was completely discomfited, and lost all his artillery; and was compelled to evacuate the fort which he had so lately taken.

Farther operations on the part of Mysore, or rather I should say on the part of the adherents of Hyder Ali, were prevented by that adventurer being suddenly brought into a very desperate situation by the schemes of his personal enemies. And the taking of Pondicherry by the English in January 1761 served to awe the rebellious Poligars into something like submission; whilst the departure of Mak'hphûz Khân from the Tinnevely country and his apparent reconciliation with his brother had deprived them of all pretext for disobedience. The country therefore became more quiet than it had been for many years; and there seemed to be some grounds for the belief that it would so continue. Without counting troops employed in garrison duty, Mohammad Yûsuf was certainly in command of a large force, for at the very time when he sent the expedition to Madura to act against the Mysoreans he was able to put himself at the head of 4,000 Sepoys and some cavalry and march against a Dutch expedition. And his troops were well disciplined and well chosen. And certainly no Poligar and no combination of Poligars at that time was in possession of so considerable resources.

Mohammad Yûsuf continued to govern the Madura country for some time longer, and appears to have made himself exceedingly powerful. The memoirs furnished to me by Ponnusâmi Têvan and another furnished by a Mahometan gentleman agree in stating that he conquered all the Poligars without exception, and exacted tribute from the King of Travancore, and he overran the Sivagangei and Râmnâd countries. But these successes brought no profit to the Honorable Company's government. Either the expenses of Mohammad Yûsuf's administration were too great to admit of him acting up to his pecuniary engagements, or he thought he might render himself sufficiently strong to maintain himself in independence, and acting in accordance with the long established and almost unvarying custom of India delayed remitting tribute to his Lord until his Lord came with an overpowering army to enforce obedience and collect arrears.

This event happened towards the end of 1762. A considerable force was sent against him, and he was regularly besieged in his capital by an army of Englishmen Mahometans and Maravans. The



Sêthupati, the Tondiman, and the RAja of Sivagangei combined against him together with many of the Poligars ; and the unfortunate man found himself without a friend. Unappalled by this formidable array against him, Mohammad Yûsuf defended himself with the greatest energy and skill : and at the end of eight or nine months the besiegers found that they had made but little progress. But treachery effected what force could not effect : and the gallant soldier who had served in so many campaigns, always with marked distinction, was seized by a confidential servant and given over to his enemies ; who in May 1763 with a want of mercy which at this time seems all but inexcusable, hung him like a dog.

The history of the career of this remarkable man as preserved by tradition is very peculiar and interesting. According to one of Pon-nusâmi Têvan's memoirs which as observed before are generally very fairly accurate, Mohammad Yûsuf Khân, better known in Madura by the name of Gaun Sâh Kummanthân (Khân Sahêb, Commandant) was a Hindû of the Vellâla caste born in Paniyûr in the Râmnâd country. In his youth he was wild and disobedient to his parents, and eventually ran away to Pondicherry and served under a European for three years and a half, at the end of which period he committed some great fault which led to his immediate dismissal. After this he served under a Mr. Brunton, who took great pains with his education, and had him instructed in several languages. Next he entered the service of the Nabob, and being a man of great ability rapidly rose from being a Tandalgâr and then a toll-collector, and next a Sepoy to the posts of Naigue, Havildar and Subahdar. In the course of time he greatly distinguished himself against Bada Sahêb at Saint Thomas' Mount, and was promised the governorship of the southern countries. At Arcot he married a Parangi woman. Subsequently he came to Madura, chastised the Kallans and Poligars, and reduced the whole of the south to submission with the exception of the Marava Râjas. He began to plan the conquest of these countries also, and it was in consequence of the representations made to the Nabob and to the English at Trichinopoly by the ministers of Râmnâd and Sivagangei that the Nabob resolved to bring a large army against his vassal, and finally hung him. It is also stated that Mohammad Yûsuf carried a magical ball of gold in the flesh of his right arm, and was thereby rendered safe from all bodily harm : consequently when he was dropped from the gallows the rope broke, and when he was dropped a second time the rope broke a second



time. Finally he removed the golden ball, and then the rope did its duty.

Mohammad Yûsuf's high character and eminent administrative ability are forcibly contrasted with the incapacity and tyrannical conduct of his successors in the following passage, which occurs at page 21 of the report of Colonel Fullarton dated Pondicherry, 7 March 1785, which has lately been printed by order of Government :—

“ The conduct of Mahomed Issuf Cawn deserves to be exempted  
 “ from this general accusation. While he ruled those provinces, his  
 “ whole administration denoted vigour and effect. His justice was  
 “ unquestioned, his word unalterable; his measures were happily  
 “ combined and firmly executed, the guilty had no refuge from pun-  
 “ ishment. His maxim was, “ that the laborer and the manufacturer  
 “ should be the favorite children of the Circar,” because they afford  
 “ strength and comfort to the public parent; but that the Poligar and  
 “ the Colliery, though equally entitled to truth and justice, have no  
 “ pretension to indulgence, because they are the worthless prodigals  
 “ who waste their own means and ravage those of others. “ Let them  
 “ become Zemindars,” said he, “ and cultivate their own lands, instead  
 “ of plundering their industrious neighbours, then they shall be cher-  
 “ ished; but while their habit is idleness and their business devas-  
 “ tation, I will treat every one as a public enemy who wields a pike,  
 “ or wears the turban of a Polygar.” On comparing the state of that  
 “ country with his conduct and remarks, I felt that wisdom, vigour,  
 “ and integrity are of no climate or complexion.”

After the death of Mohammad Yûsuf the Madura country was placed the charge of one Abirâl Khân Sahêb on behalf of the Nabob and the British Government. But it appears that it was not considered safe to entrust him with any military power: and from this time forward Madura seems to have been always commanded by British Officers, an arrangement which was rendered necessary both by the circumstance of it being the key of the southern countries, and by its propinquity to Dindigul which was in the hands of Hyder Ali.

Abirâl Khân's administration seems to have lasted for some six years; and to have been in no way remarkable. Indeed the annals of the times of this officer and of his numerous successors in the management of the Madura country in behalf of the Nabob, some of whom were Mahometans, some Mahratta and other Brâhmans,



some Tamils, seem to have been utterly barren of events. I have endeavoured to gather some scraps of information about them and their doings : but little more appears to be known about them than their mere names. However the state of things in Madura during this period of Mahometan domination may be imagined from the following facts, which were communicated to me by the grandson of one of these officers, and the truth of which I see no occasion to doubt. About the year 1772 there were only two substantial brick and stone buildings in the whole town, namely the old Palace and the residence of the Mahometan manager : the only dwellings were mud hovels thatched or tiled. The manager used to amuse himself by causing Hindû sacred processions to halt for hours at a time in front of his house ; they were never permitted to pass on until he was tired looking at them, or felt disposed to be gracious to their conductors. He also built up a wall across the gateway of the Râyar gôpura in order to prevent Hindû processions being conducted as usual along the street which led through it ; and this wall was never removed until the time of the first English Collector.

In 1772 a peace was concluded with Hyder Ali ; but this circumstance does not appear to have effected the state of the country. Some orders of this year issued by Mohammad Ali show that the Kallans were as troublesome as ever, and that it was necessary to commence military operations against them.

A short period of peace, during which the British government seems to have made no attempt to improve and solidify its acquisitions in the south, preceded the eventful year 1780 in which occurred Hyder Ali's celebrated invasion of the Carnatic. No sooner had that great commander begun to spread terror and devastation in the countries through which he moved, than multitudes of armed men began to pour down the sides of the Mysorean mountains and overrun the countries south of the Kâvêri. The standing crops were everywhere destroyed ; every house not within a fort was burnt down ; all the tank-bunds dams and channels by means of which cultivation was carried on were cut through blocked up and rendered useless. Famine began to rage furiously in almost every district between the Kâvêri the sea and the western ghauts : and the greater part of the southern country presented the appearance of a vast wilderness which had been blackened and laid waste by some terrible conflagration. And taking advantage of this opportunity the Kallans and



Poligars soon bestirred themselves, and vied with the enemy in completing the work of devastation and ruin. Nor was this all. According to the very able report of Colonel Fullarton :—

“The ravages of the enemy were by no means the greatest evils that those districts sustained. There were inherent growing causes of decline. The husbandmen were killed or driven off, the cattle became wild, cultivation was neglected, and the fields desolate ; yet over this wilderness the Renter, the Amildar, the Monegar, the Tahsildar, and all the instruments of public exaction, tyrannized with unavailing rigour. The forts, excepting Tanjore, were neglected and decaying ; the military stores had been in a great measure expended or embezzled. The Military Store-keepers, Grain-keepers, Paymasters, and Commissaries, belonging to the Civil Service, were habituated to disavow any controlling power in the Commandant of the place, nor were the exhortations and example of Mr. Sullivan sufficient to correct the evil.

“Hence disorder arose in these departments, both civil and military. The King’s and Company’s officers were at variance. The subjects of the Nabob were loud in their complaints against Europeans ; while the Tanjoreans extended their aversion to all classes of our countrymen. The large arrears due to the troops and other grievances rendered it impracticable for officers to maintain discipline in their corps. Happy if they could prevent mutiny among men, who, brave and faithful as they undoubtedly were, could hardly be restrained from clamour when reduced to procure subsistence by selling their own children.

“The discordant powers of the Civil Servants in the different departments increased the evils already enumerated ; such was the measure of those evils that the ablest persons despaired of retrieving your affairs. Nor was it held practicable to maintain the southern army in the field, dispirited by defeat and destitute of resources.”

This wretched state of things was mended to some extent by the decisive measures adopted by Colonel Fullarton, who in 1783 marched into the southern country from Trichinopoly at the head of a considerable force, and in less than a month reduced it entirely to submission. The various operations of the southern army have been fully described by the officer who commanded it in the report alluded



to above, and were confined almost wholly to the Tinnevelly country : it will therefore be unnecessary for me to touch upon them.

In 1785 the following was the state of the Madura country as observed by Colonel Fullarton :—

“I come now to the state of Madura, bounded by Mellore on the east, by the Nattam Collieries on the north, by the country of Dindigul, belonging to Hyder, on the west, and by Tinnevelly on the south. Its territory is not more than forty-five miles in length and thirty-five miles in breadth, and its annual revenue is diminished to £34,000.

“When the Gentoo Rajah, Trimul Naique, reigned there in the last century, his territories extended over many parts of the southern countries. His treasures were great, and he has left monuments of magnificence hardly surpassed in any age or country. These proud buildings still remain, a melancholy contrast with present poverty and depopulation. The gallant resistance made by Mahomed Issuf, when he disclaimed allegiance on the Nabob, proves if the works were repaired, this place might be defended against the most powerful Indian enemy. Its vicinity to the country of Dindigul, belonging to Tippoo Sultaun, renders it a position of capital importance in the event of operations against that power.”

It will be observed that the country yielded considerably more in 1785 than in 1756, when according to Orme the total collections of the Madura country seldom exceeded 1,20,000 Rupees, and were quite insufficient to defray the cost of holding it by the sword.

In September 1790 Mr. McLeod was appointed to take charge of the Honorable Company's collections of revenue for the Madura province, and from that time up to the present we have authentic though not always very intelligible accounts of what few important events took place within the limits of the district. As the British Government has never lost its firm hold of the Madura country for a single day since the date on which it appointed its first Collector, our Political History may now be brought to a close. An attempt will be made in Part IV of this work to trace the Revenue History of the district from the earliest times of which we have any reliable record : and it will be more convenient to set out in that part the political events of this century which require a passing notice, than to narrate them consecutively in this. The revenue history will



derive very considerable elucidation, whilst the small amount of political history which still remains to be told will in no way suffer from this arrangement.

It will be necessary however before concluding this part of my subject to bring up the history of the Dindigul and Marava countries to the same level as that of the old Pândya capital; or the commencement of Part IV will be unintelligible: but a very few pages will suffice to show all that appears to be known of what happened to them during the period which has been treated in this chapter.

And first with regard to the Dindigul country.

We have seen above how Dindigul fell into the hands of Chandâ Sahêb before the battle of Ammaya-Nâyakkan-ûr: and Orme tells us that Chandâ Sahêb placed his brother Saduck Sahêb in command of the fortress, and that the latter was slain in battle by the Mahrattas while endeavouring to succour his brother who was at that time besieged in the fortress of Trichinopoly. This was in 1741.

It must have been almost immediately after this event took place that Dindigul with its dependencies was made over to the Mysoreans by the officer left in charge of them, one Mîr Imâm Ulla. It appears that Birki Venkata Raû then in command of the Mysorean army below the ghauts, a force consisting of some 4,000 horse and 1,000 foot took advantage of the circumstance of Saduck Sahêb's death to menace the province which lay next to his master's with invasion; and that the Commandant of Dindigul preferred making a bargain with Mysore to being ousted by the Mahrattas. Accordingly the cession was made, and Birki Venkata Raû was appointed manager of the newly acquired district by the Râja of Mysore.

According to an historical memorandum respecting the affairs of Dindigul drawn up for the information of the Dindigul Committee of 1796 and of which a copy exists in the Madura records, the Palani and Virupâkshi pâleiyams had been previously annexed by Mysore, and were attached at this time to the Dârâpuram district; whilst those of Ideiya-kôttei and Mâmbâra had been attached to that of Arava-kuricchi. In the same year the village of Vêdasandûr was detached from the pâleiyam of Ammaya-Nâyakkan-ûr and made a portion of the Government lands. And the Palliyappa-Nâyakkan-ûr pâleiyam was relieved from its dependency on Ammaya-Nâyakkan-



ûr, and made a separate estate. And Valagarei was resumed on account of arrears of tribute.

In 1742 the whole district is said to have yielded a revenue of about 1,01,700 Star Pagodas. And Kambam and Gûdalûr were still separate pâleiyams paying tribute to the master of Dindigul.

In 1748 Madûr was resumed for arrears of tribute. And Birki Venkata Raû was recalled, and succeeded by Venkatappa; who in 1751 was succeeded by Nâmagiri Râja.

In 1751 the pâleiyams were placed under the control of Venkatappa; and the Government lands under that of Srînivâsa Raû, the son of the abovementioned Birki Venkata Raû.

In 1755 Venkatappa reported to head-quarters the contumacy of the Poligars, and the fact of their having fallen very considerably into arrears; and it was deemed necessary to send Hyder Ali to bring them to their senses, with a small force consisting of 700 horse, 1,000 foot, and 4 guns. On his arrival he was joined by the Poligars of Ammaya-Nâyakkan-ûr and Nila-kôttei; and at once fell upon the Palani Poligar, who had collected about 7 or 800 followers, and utterly routed him. He then plundered the pâleiyam of every thing valuable which it contained, and compelled the fugitive Poligar to agree to pay a fine of 1,75,000 Chakrams.

After this Hyder Ali marched against Virupâkshi, and was met on the boundaries by a Vakeel, who agreed to pay him 75,000 Chakrams. Next he attacked Kannivâdi, and was detained for two months in clearing away the jungles and obstacles which surrounded the Poligar's stronghold. As soon as he had finished this preliminary work, the Poligar agreed to pay 3,00,000 Chakrams, and paid down on the spot 70,000. Erriyôdu was next attacked. As he was marching against it, Hyder Ali was opposed by a body of troops belonging to the Poligar of Shokkampatti and cut them to pieces. Upon this the Poligars of Erriyôdu and Shokkampatti came together before him, and consented to pay, the former 70,000, the latter 30,000 Chakrams. Next Hyder Ali marched up towards the Kambam valley and fell upon Bôdi-Nâyakkan-ûr. The Poligar resisted him for a short space of time, and then fled: he was accordingly punished by the confiscation of his pâleiyam. Whilst he was encamped in this pâleiyam, the Kambam Poligar came in and agreed to pay 10,000 Chakrams. Thence the force moved on to the Utthama-pâleiyam; and here the Poligars of Kambam and Gûdalûr visited Hyder Ali, and agreed to



pay the former 10,000 Chakrams (as he had agreed at Bôdi-Nayakkan-ûr) and the latter 2,000. But they did not act up to their engagements, and fled away; and in consequence their pâleiyams were confiscated, and ever afterwards continued to be Government lands.

What was done with the other pâleiyams does not appear. But on his return to Dindigul Hyder Ali resumed the following pâleiyams, on account of their owners not paying him the sums which they had agreed for, viz:—1, Kannivâdi; 2, Erriyôdu; 3, Shokkampatti; 4, Tottiyân-kôttei; 5, Palliyappa-Nâyakkan-ûr; and 6. Thêvathânapatti which had been some years previously seized and annexed by Kannivâdi. And the Poligar of Kannivâdi was sent off to Bangalore as a prisoner.

In 1757, as we have seen before, Hyder Ali made a descent from Dindigul upon the Madura country, and took Sôlavandân; but was beaten off by Mohammad Yûsuf. He was shortly afterwards recalled to Seringapatam. Before he left the province however he had collected about half of the contributions which the Poligars had promised, those of Palani and Virupâkshi alone having paid only a small portion of what they had promised. And whereas Vadagarei and Madûr were the only two resumed pâleiyams when he first came to Dindigul, when he left all had been resumed except 1, Nila-kôttei; 2, Ammaya-Nâyakkan-ûr; 3, Kômbei; 4, Ideiya-kôttei; 5, Mâm-bâra. The two last had formerly belonged to Arava-kuricchi, but were added to the Dindigul province by Hyder Ali.

Such were the main incidents of Hyder Ali's memorable incursion into the Dindigul province: and it is difficult to say which is the most remarkable, the extraordinary ability which made it possible for him to reduce so many chiefs to submission with the handful of men he commanded, or the extraordinary disunion amongst these chiefs which permitted him attack and crush them one after another. Perhaps no event in the history of South India proves more conclusively than this one, the utter inability and unwillingness of Hindû chiefs and nobles to combine together against a common foe, whether he be a Mahometan a Mahratta or an European. The Poligars whom Hyder Ali defeated on this occasion with a force of 1,700 men, were well supplied with provisions and money, and were in a position to bring into the field at least 30,000 troops. And these troops it must be remembered were not mercenaries whose fidelity



could not be depended upon; but the hereditary servants dependants and relatives of the Poligars, who cultivated the lands which were invaded and whose ancestors had served for generations under the ancestors of the Poligars. The conduct of the Poligars can only be accounted for on the supposition that hardly one of them could trust another, and most were the hereditary enemies of many and both jealous and suspicious of all the rest of their fellows. And doubtless the same state of things prevails generally in all parts of India and at all times: and it is only an exceptionally great Indian leader of men like Hyder Ali or Sivaji or Râma Râz, who can sometimes contrive to keep a large number of subordinate chiefs in order, and compel them to lay aside for a while their petty feuds and jealousies in furthering the common weal.

Before Hyder Ali left Dindigul Srînivâsa Raû was removed from his office for incompetence, and Venkatappa was appointed sole Amaldâr or Superintendent of both the pâleiyams and the Government lands. He was succeeded shortly afterwards by Sûriyâ Nârâyana Muthali, who in 1758 restored, it is not stated for what reasons, the following Poligars, viz.:—those of 1, G'hantappa-Nâyakkan-ûr; 2, Erachaka-Nâyakkan-ûr; 3, Tavasû-Madei; 4, Ambatâra; 5, Maranût; 6, Emakalâpuram.

In 1760 occurred the collision between the Mysorean force and the expedition sent by Mchammad Yûsuf from Tinnevely, mentioned before in page 289. It is said that in the action near Vattila-gundu the Mysorean Fouzdâr and many of his subordinates were killed, and Shîr Khân the commander of the troops sent by Mohammad Yûsuf then took possession of the Utthama-pâleiyam, Periyakolam, Kambam and other districts; and that he held them up to the time of the execution of Mohammad Yusûf when he found it necessary to relinquish his conquests.

The next important event was the siege of Dindigul by Colonel Wood's detachment in 1767. It lasted for only one day. The fort was taken, and was held by the British for eight months, at the end of which time it was restored to Hyder Ali by treaty.

In 1772 the Dindigul country was granted to Mîr Shâhêb the brother-in-law of Hyder Ali, subject to the following services, namely that of maintaining one thousand horse for Hyder Ali's use, and that of keeping up a force sufficient for the defence of the country. The Palani and Virupâkshi pâleiyams had for some unexplained cause



been detached from the province of Dindigul, and were not included in the grant; but in all other respects the province was in the same state as in 1758.

In 1773 the following pâleiyams were resumed, namely; 1, G'hantappa-Nâyakkan-ûr; 2, Kômbei; 3, Nila-kôttei; 4, Erachaka-Nâyakkan-ûr. And Palani and Virupākshi were re-annexed to the country, and also resumed. At this time the district yielded, it is said, 1,48,051 Star Pagodas per annum.

In 1774 Maranût, Tavasumadei and Ambatâra were resumed; and Sandeiyûr and Thêvâram were restored to their owners.

Mîr Sahêb lost his life at the battle of Porto Novo; and the grant then lapsed.

In April 1783 Dindigul was taken by the division under Colonel Lang, which was then operating upon the countries dependent upon that fortress Arava-kuricchi and Caroor. And shortly afterwards all the sequestered pâleiyams, which comprised at that time all except 1, Thêvâram; 2, Ideiya-kôttei; 3, Mâmbâra; 4, Ammaya-Nâyakkan-ûr; 5, Sandeiyûr, were restored to the dispossessed Poligars.

In accordance with the treaty of Mangalore the country was restored to Tippu Sultân in July 1784; having been managed from the time of its capture by the Resident at Tanjore, Mr. Sullivan. It was now granted to Syed Sahêb, who is said to have been a nephew to Mîr Sahêb, upon the same terms as it had been granted to Mîr Sahêb; and he took charge of his grant in September. He found that it was then yielding revenue at the rate of 1,19,554 Star Pagodas per annum.

In 1785 he resumed the following pâleiyams, namely Palani, Sandeiyûr and Erriyôdu: and in the next year Madûr and Shokkampatti.

In 1788 Tippu Sultân came to Dindigul, and found it necessary to resume all the remaining pâleiyams on account of arrears of tribute, with the exception of Kômbei, Ideiya-kôttei and Mâmbâra, viz:—

- |                            |                         |
|----------------------------|-------------------------|
| 1. G'hantappa-Nâyakkan-ûr. | 8. Kannivâdi.           |
| 2. Thêvâram.               | 9. Maranût.             |
| 3. Bôdi-Nâyakkan-ûr.       | 10. Emakalâpuram.       |
| 4. Erachaka-Nâyakkan-ûr.   | 11. Tavasumadei         |
| 5. Palliyappa-Nâyakkan-ûr. | 12. Ambatâra.           |
| 6. Nila-kôttei.            | 13. Ammaya-Nâyakkan-ûr. |
| 7. Virupākshi.             | 14. Tottiyankôttei.     |



These fourteen sequestered estates were then separated from the Dindigul district, and attached to the Shankle-droog province.

They were also taken away from Syed Sahêb, and placed in the charge of certain Commissioners, who are said to have colluded with the dispossessed owners, and criminally misappropriated the revenues.

During the whole time of the administration of Syed Sahêb, Vadagarei and Thêvathânâpatti were Government lands.

In 1790 Sandeiyûr was restored to its owner. In August Dindigul was taken by Colonel James Stuart. At that time only four pâleiyams were in the hands of their owners, viz:—Kômbei, Ideiya-kôttei, Mâmbâra, and Sandeiyûr. But shortly afterwards all the pâleiyams, including the fourteen abovementioned, were restored by the British Government to their respective owners.

The above is the only available information touching the history of the Dindigul country between the years 1740 and 1790: we must now see what happened in the Marava countries during the same period.

It will be remembered that somewhere about the year 1730 the ancient kingdom of Râmnâd was divided into five parts, after Tanjore had taken the northern provinces; and that Kattaya Têvan took three of them, and Seshavarna Têvan two. Soon after this event the Sêthupati seems to have acquired the name of the Periya or elder Maravan; whilst the Râja of Sivagangei was known as the Chinna or younger Maravan: and English writers of the eighteenth century always speak of the greater and lesser Marava Poligars and countries. And the two countries were called by the Tamils the Periya and Chinna or great and little *Vadakkeis* or divisions.

It is stated in Ponnusâmi Têvan's memorandum that soon after the division took place the two Maravans joined their forces and attacked Tanjore, with the object of recovering the provinces which had been annexed by the Râja as the price of his intervention in their behalf: and that this disgraceful breach of faith having been rewarded with success, the Maravans shared the recovered territories.

The Sêthupati's Dalavây, Vellian-Sêrveikâran, seems to have been a man of great energy and ability, and to have succeeded in getting all the power of the Râmnâd government into his own hands; and whilst his name is occasionally mentioned in history that of his master is never heard of after his accession to the throne.

Kattaya Têvan died probably about the year 1752; and his son



was thereupon crowned. He died after reigning for only a few days or weeks; and then Vellian Sêrveikâran crowned Râkka Têvan, a cousin of the deceased Kattaya. Immediately afterwards the Râja of Tanjore invaded the Râmnâd country: but he was at once repulsed by the Dalavây.

In 1752, according to Orme, the Sêthupati sent 4,000 Peons and Kallans to the assistance of Chandâ Sahêb: whilst his old rival and enemy the Râja of Tanjore assisted the Nabob with 3,000 horse and 2,000 foot under the command of his General Monackjee; and the Tondiman Râja assisted him with 400 horse and 3,000 Kallans.

The part taken by Vellian Sêrveikaran in setting up the adopted son of Mînâkshi on the throne of Madura in 1752 has been already shown. It was probably during the short reign of that unfortunate prince that the Râmnâd Dalavây made an expedition into the south, and attempted to reduce the Poligars to submission, and restore order throughout the Madura kingdom. It is said that he subdued all the Poligars but the Ettiyapuram, who was venerated as a Guru, and was (presumably) spared on that account. And a curious circumstance is recorded in connection with Vellian Sêrveikâran's raid amongst the Poligars, which ought not to be passed over without notice. It appears from Ponnusâmi Têvan's memorandum that in order to show his superiority over those whom he defeated, he, like other Dalavâys, used to cause mud to be prepared and thrown on the ground in front of his seat; and etiquette required the Poligars who came to pay their respects to him and receive his orders, to prostrate themselves at full length in the mud on approaching the presence. One is scarcely prepared for such an exhibition of arrogance on the part of the Dalavâys and still less on the part of the Dalavây of Râmnâd. It seems to be inferrible however from the memorandum that Vellian Sêrveikâran was the first minister of Râmnâd who attained the exalted titles of Dalavây and Kârbâr, and possibly it was owing to his head being turned by his successes and by the acquisition of these dignities that he was induced to behave in this fashion.

An intrigue of which the particulars are not known resulted in an attempt to ruin the successful Dalavây: and he was recalled from Tinnevely to Râmnâd. Here he turned the tables on his adversaries; and rebelled against the Sêthupati, who fled for safety to the fort of Pâmbam. The Dalavây assembled some troops; took the



fort; and imprisoned the Sêthupati. And having deposed him, raised to the throne a member of the Kilavan's family named Sella or Vijaya Rag'hunâtha Têvan. During the reign of this Sêthupati which is said to have lasted six years the Râja of Tanjore again invaded Râmnâd : and was again defeated by the able Dalavây.

And in 1755 occurred Colonel Heron's expedition to Madura, on which occasion a deputy of the Sêthupati waited on the English commander and after asking his pardon for the mistake committed by the Sêthupati in siding with Chandâ Sahêb, induced him eventually to enter into an alliance with his master; which however was shortly afterwards repudiated by the authorities at Madras in consequence of the strong representations made by their allies the Tondiman and Râja of Tanjore.

Sella Têvan died about the year 1760, and was succeeded by his nephew Muttu Râmalinga Sêthupati, a child of two months.

Vellian Sêrveikâran seems to have died about this time; and was succeeded in office by a man named Thomôtharam Pillei. And the mother of the infant Sêthupati, Muttu Tiruvây Natchiyâr, seems to have acted as Regent.

Whether the Nabob Mohammad Ali undertook any expedition against the Sêthupati before the time of Mohammad Yûsuf, does not appear: I think it may be concluded however that he did not. It is perfectly clear that nothing was done against him before Colonel Heron's expedition, or he would not have been anxious to enter into an alliance with the English. And the state of things in the south between 1755 and 1760 was such that no attempt to reduce to submission so powerful a chief as Vellian Sêrveikâran could have been thought of by the Nabob's subordinates. It was probably after the death of this minister, and at the commencement of the regency in the year 1760 or thereabouts that Mohammad Yûsuf first directed his attention to the State of Râmnâd, and conceived the idea of exacting tribute from the infant Sêthupati.

In 1763 as has been already shown the Dalavây Thomôtharam Pillei joined in the siege of Madura, and did what lay in his power to effect the ruin of Mohammad Yûsuf.

In 1770 the Râja of Tanjore was again defeated, this time most decisively by an army under the command of Thomôtharam Pillei: and this was the last occasion on which the troops of Râmnâd were permitted to distinguish themselves.



In 1773 the British Government sent a force into the Râmnâd country under the command of General Joseph Smith; and it was speedily reduced to submission. And the Queen Regent and the minor King were made State prisoners.

In 1785 the country was described by Colonel Fullarton as being fifty miles in length by thirty in breadth; and as being well-peopled by an industrious population, and abounding in cattle. The revenues amounted to about five lacs of Rupees per annum, and the yearly tribute to the Nabob had been fixed at the sum of Rupees 1,75,000. The country had been managed since its annexation by renters: and had been for the most part free from disturbances until the eventful year 1781; when it was overrun by a host of rebels under the leadership of one Mâpillei Têvan, a relation of the Sêthupati's family. The disturbances then excited were put an end to by the expedition of 1783 under Colonel Fullarton, to which allusion has been before made. And no event happened after that year which needs to be recorded in this Part.

Much less is known about the history of Sivagangei than about that of Râmnâd.

According to Orme the Râja of Tanjore in 1749 sent his General Monackjee into the country of the lesser Maravan in order to wrest from him the fort of Arundângi; and the Tondiman assisting him, the enterprise was successful. It does not appear who was the Râja at this time: but it seems probable that Seshavarna Têvan was dead, and that his son Muttu Vaduga Nâtha Udeiyâ Têvan had succeeded him. It also seems probable that this Râja was a man of no energy or ability; and left the entire conduct of affairs in the hands of his chief minister.

In 1752 Tândavarâya Pillei the minister of Sivagangei joined in the siege of Madura described before, and in placing Mînâkshi's adopted son upon the throne.

In 1762 and the following year he engaged in the operations against Mohammad Yûsuf.

In 1773 two dependents of the Râja, named the Periya or elder and Chinna or younger Murdu, conspired against him and apparently killed him at the battle of Kâleiyâr-kôvil. Soon afterwards the country was reduced together with that of Râmnâd: and the Râja's widow, who was at the time pregnant, escaped together with many of the principal persons in the kingdom to Mysore.



In 1781 the Murdus returned to Sivagangei at the head of a number of armed men, and being unopposed proceeded to rule the country in the name of Hyder Ali, after setting up some obscure individual as a kind of puppet Râja. In 1783 this state of things was put an end to by the Southern Army: and shortly afterwards the widow of the late Râja was appointed Zamindârni by the Nabob.

In 1785 the Sivagangei country was thus described by Colonel Fullarton:—

“The territory of Shevigunga, or the Little Marawar, stretches  
“from the sea coast on the east to the districts of Mellore and  
“Madura on the west, and from the country of Tondiman and the  
“Nattam Collieries upon the north, to the territories of the Great  
“Marawar on the south, containing about fifty miles in length and  
“forty miles in breadth. The soil, in general, is unfriendly to the  
“growth of corn, though not quite destitute of running streams or  
“artificial reservoirs, but the country is overgrown with thorns and  
“bushes. The woods of Calicoil, nearly forty miles in circumfer-  
“ence, are secured with barriers and other defences around the fort  
“of Calicoil, which is situated in the centre of the thickets, and  
“considered as a refuge from exaction or invasion. These woods  
“and the surrounding country abound with sheep and cattle, the  
“inhabitants are numerous, and can bring twelve thousand fighting  
“men into the field, armed with swords, pikes, spears, and firelocks.  
“Though less barbarous than the Collieries, their neighbours, yet  
“arts and industry have made little progress among them. The  
“country is capable of great improvement, but at present hardly  
“yields more than five lacs of Rupees to the Rajah, who pays  
“1,75,000 Rupees to the Nabob of Arcot. The Rajah is of the  
“Taver family, and a descendant of the sovereigns of the Great  
“Marawar, from which Shevigunga was separated at no very distant  
“period.”

The Kalla country or country of robbers, though considerably larger than the Madura has no history which needs to be told; if indeed it can boast of any history. Colonel Fullarton's description of it in 1785 would probably be applicable to any period except the present century during the last five hundred years; and if it was at any previous time inhabited by a peaceful and civilized population, all vestiges of that population have perished. Colonel Fullarton writes as follows:—



“ The country of the Collieries, including the territories of Tondiman, Mellore and Nattam, extends from the sea coast to the confines of Madura, in a range of sixty miles by sixty-five; with the exception of some spots, which have accidentally been cultivated, it is overgrown with thickets, and inhabited by savage tribes. Before that country can be rendered valuable, the woods must be cleared, the strongholds occupied, and the Collieries compelled to relinquish their predatory habits; for in its present condition, fertile tracts are lost to cultivation, and the wild inhabitants amounting to thirty or forty thousand men in arms, under different Chiefs, endanger public safety in moments of hostility.”

In concluding this Part of the manual I must take a final glance at the state and progress of Christianity in the Madura country during the last century. There is but little to tell. We have seen the mode in which Father Bouchet was treated by the great Dalavây. A letter of 1709 shows that the Kallans had relapsed from their temporary conversion; and in consequence of the weakness of the then Government had become so bold and wicked that even missionaries dared not traverse their country without a guide. And they were not only masters of their own country: but made life and property insecure in all the districts adjoining theirs. Gang robberies by torch-light were of nightly occurrence; and in every direction herds of cattle were lifted and murders committed by them with impunity. The Sêthupati had chastised them repeatedly; and had established forts in their country. But all was to no purpose. The garrisons were surprised and slain, and the Kallans became more troublesome than ever.

The defection of the Kallans was more than counterbalanced by successes in other quarters: and in 1713 there were upwards of a million converts. But in 1714 and the following year there was so much persecution in the Marava country that the missionaries were compelled to quit it for a time. Converts were horribly ill-used and mutilated; the Churches were destroyed; and the open profession of the true faith exposed every one to great danger. But in 1720 the Sêthupati relented, and began to treat the Christians with some little kindness and favour.

From 1720 to 1743 we have no letters in the collection of the Mission du Maduré. But it appears that during portions of that



period the missions of Vadugar-patti, Âûr, and Tanjore were successively placed under the care of the famous Beschi, whose name is perhaps even better known in South India than that of Robert De Nobilibus. His mode of life is described as having been similar to that of his illustrious predecessor John De Britto; and the Mission du Maduré repudiates, though hardly in such a manner as to show that they are utterly unfounded, the statements to be found in various modern authors to the effect that Beschi lived in a sumptuous and princely style. The following passage is quoted in the Mission du Maduré in order that readers may know what sort of statements touching Beschi's career they ought not to believe; and therefore its insertion here may perhaps put unwary readers on their guard.

“ Le P. Beschi ayant conçu le projet de visiter Sanda Saëb, nabab de Tirouchirapali, s'appliqua à l'étude du persan et du turc, et y fit des progrès si rapides qu'en trois mois il put parler et écrire couramment dans ces deux langues. Le nabab l'accueillit avec bienveillance, fut enchanté de son rare talent, et le surnomma *Ismat Sanniassi* (le pénitent sans tache). En preuve de son estime et de son affection, il lui fit présent d'un superbe palanquin en ivoire, qui avait appartenu à Satoulakan, son grand-père; il le retint à sa cour, l'institua son Divan ou premier ministre, et, pour subvenir aux dépenses qu'entraînait une si haute position, il lui assigna à perpétuité quatre gros villages situés sur le bord du Coléron, dont le revenu annuel était de 12.000 roupies.

“ Lorsque le magnifique Divan se mettait en route, son palanquin était précédé par douze porte-drapeaux, quatre pions à bâton d'argent, trente gardes d'honneur à cheval, un cheval portant le *tanga* et le *nagasoura* (timballe et trompette,) deux chevaux de parade, l'un noir et l'autre blanc, richement caparaçonnés, pour lui servir de monture, et enfin une foule de hérauts, courant, criant à tête, et faisant un topage proportionné à la noblesse du personnage.

“ Derrière lui venait un chameau chargé du *nagaram* (grosse caisse royale;) un autre portait le *kaïtalam* (tambour ordinaire); un troisième, sa chapelle: trois autres chameaux, chargés des tentes et des baggages, fermaient la marche.”

The Mission du Maduré admits that Beschi visited Chandâ Sahêb and also the Nabob of Vellore; and that he induced the General of the Society in Europe to send out a letter and some presents to Daûst Ali Khân in 1739; and that he was loaded with favours both



by Datus Ali and Chanda Sahéb. And it is further admitted that very possibly the Nabob, following the custom of the country, may have endowed the Christian Church with four villages; and that Beschi may have been honoured with an Indian title, though he could not have accepted the post of Divan. It certainly seems not impossible that what is said of Beschi in the passage quoted was very nearly if not absolutely true.

Of all the Jesuit Missionaries who have worked in India, Beschi is probably the most distinguished for learning and intellect. His knowledge of Tamil was simply wonderful. He was equally familiar with the high and low dialects: and his compositions in that language have excited the admiration and envy of many a South Indian poet. Unlike Robert de Nobilibus, he was averse to introducing many Sanskrit terms and expressions into his Tamil works; and rather aimed at acquiring a perfectly pure and idiomatic style. And in this he was perfectly successful. Had Tamil been his native tongue it would have been impossible for him to acquire a greater proficiency in it.

His principal works were the following, viz:—

1. *The Tembavani* written in 1726, a poem illustrating the mysteries and doctrines of the Gospel. This astonishing production is so well known that a description of it here would be superfluous. It will be sufficient to say that Tamils could not believe it was the work of a foreigner; and that Europeans, English and others, vied with one another in praising its beauties.

2. Several minor poems of great merit such as the *Kitteriam-mal* or life of Queen Catherine of Portugal, the *Tiroucdavalour-kalambam*, &c.

3. His prose work the *Védier-Oloukkam*, a series of considerations touching the duties of one called to an apostolical life. The style of this is said to be rich and sparkling: whilst the argumentation is close and forcible, the thoughts profound and striking, and the imagination displayed in it large and exalted.

4. The *Gniaña-Ounartel* also in prose, a didactic and doctrinal work, of a very elevated style.

5. The well-known *Paramârta-Courou-Cadei* or tale of the foolish priest and his disciples.

6. A commentary in Tamil and in Latin on the Kural.



7. Some controversial works in Tamil, directed principally against the Lutherans.

8. His well-known Tamil Grammar.

9. The Tamil, Tamil and Latin, and Tamil and Portuguese Dictionaries, works displaying the greatest erudition and most extensive acquaintance with the Hindû Classics.

10. A vast quantity of miscellaneous works.

Beschi was the last, as he was the most learned of the great Jesuit missionaries. Shortly after his time the suppression of the Jesuit Society and of the Madura Mission took place: and the great work which the latter had effected was almost undone.















